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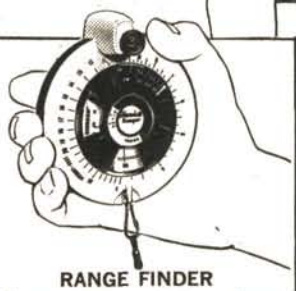

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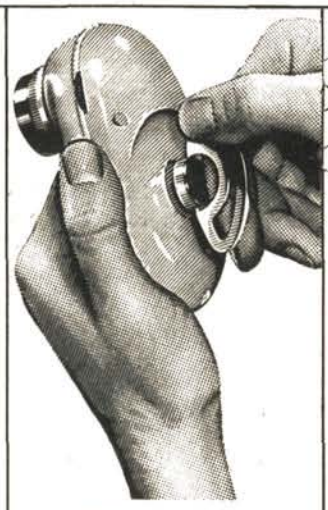

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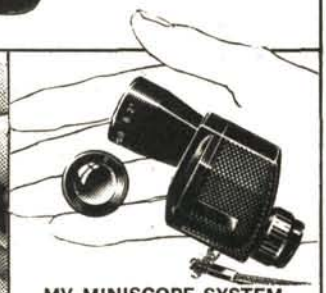

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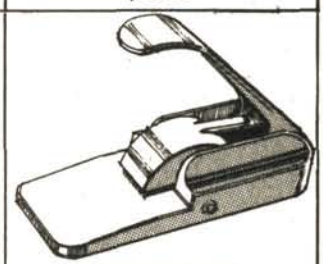

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The Doomsday Clock was set ahead.

The Doomsday Clock, a feature of the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, stood for five years at 12 minutes before midnight. In January it was set ahead five minutes. Events of recent weeks may have arrested its ominous progress.

If the next President is an enlightened and world-minded man *he* will need an effective Congress. If he is a lesser man *you* will need an effective Congress.

After the tumult and the shouting there still is no assurance that we will have a meaningful presidential choice next November. To the extent that there is now some hope, a lessening of fear, disillusionment, defeatism, it is because of the initiative of staunch men in Congress. The political machinery of the country is slowly being recaptured by the people. Executive autonomy is being curbed; a new concensus can be formed.

Regardless of who occupies the White House it has been proved that the presence of a determined group in Congress remains our strongest assurance of rational, responsible government—our best guarantee against a disaster course at home and abroad.

It was the courage of men of conscience of both parties in the Senate and House that forced onto the national agenda the entire question of the Vietnam war, its morality, its legality, its sanity. Their determination imposed restraints on unbridled escalation, a wider war, the temptation to employ nuclear weapons. Thanks to these men who spoke out, a national dialogue began, and the American people are no longer "brainwashed."

It is the courage of men of conscience in Congress that gives us hope on the threshold of a long, hot summer, and provides the strength our nation needs to cope with urban and racial problems.

In 1968 the liberal heart of the Senate is at stake. And in the House, the shift of 26 seats would give the conservatives a voting majority.

Most of those Senators who first raised the question of America's drift, our distorted priorities, our deterioration domestically and internationally are up for reelection: **Fulbright** and **Aiken, Morse** and **Gruening, Church, McGovern, Clark** and **Nelson.** Some, such as **Fulbright** and **Morse,** face critical primaries in a few weeks. Also facing serious challenges are **Kuchel** and **Monroney,** who have been unwavering fighters against the vigilante smear tactics of the radical right.

Because these men have had the courage to break the silence, they have been singled out as special targets by the extremists. The defeat of any one of them would greatly strengthen the right-wing and war-hawk elements of both parties.

We urge concerned Americans to support these candidates by contributing to the **National Committee for an Effective Congress.** The clock—time—is the critical factor. Hope depends on many citizens, on your determined effort. This is the moment in history when your participation can make the vital difference. Your financial assistance can help to preserve the dynamic core of the legislative branch. These men are ready. Are You?

We dare not wait. Enlightened private citizens who back enlightened public leaders are the strength of our democracy. We urge you to give your full support now.

Contributions of $100, $10, $5, even $1 can help make the difference between winning and losing in 1968. Checks and money orders should be made payable to "NCEC Campaign".

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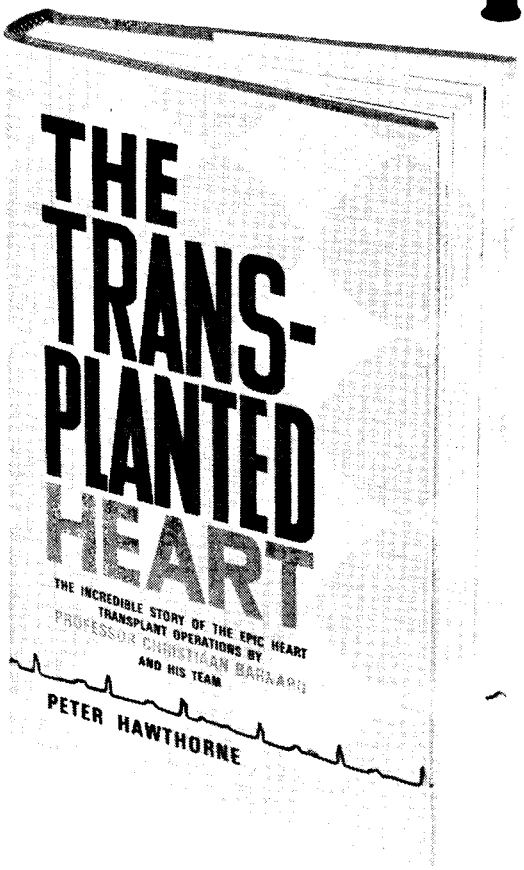

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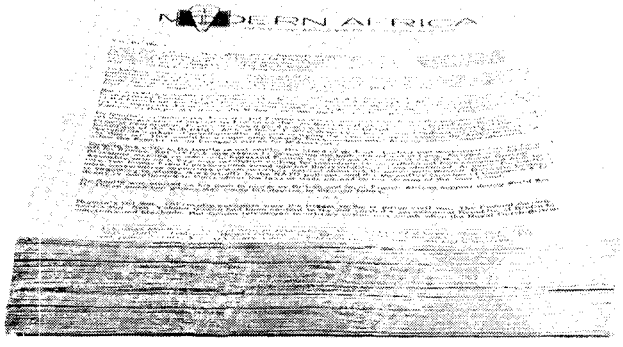

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T.R.B.

from Washington

A Bullet in the Computer

★ What does anarchy look like? It has a laughing face. It is a wavering crowd of teen-agers on your side of the street ready to dart across and join a more daring band breaking the plate glass of an electronics store. Crash, goes the glass. The boys on this side catch the hysteria; they dash across, somebody puts his arm into the jagged hole and pulls out this . . . and this . . . and this . . . and, laughing with wild excitement, they scuttle off with unimaginable riches. A police car drives up; they run like boys who have been diving from a jetty above a "No Trespassing" sign, each daring the other to climb higher, and here comes the watchman and they all duck and run. But one or two are caught.

Yes, that's what anarchy looks like. And how thick splintered plate glass feels to your feet on city sidewalks; why, if it were ice the pond would hold your weight.

Or anarchy is where two sets of people share the same city but not the same community, the same house but not the same room and where, like different animals in a forest, they watch each other warily until provoked by some intolerable slight. Only *this* forest is made of streets and buildings and plate glass crying to be smashed, and where (it now becomes vividly and unexpectedly apparent) a small minority can upset the whole intricate city balance without too much effort, like a bullet shot into a million dollar computer or, for that matter, a few guerrillas in a jungle defying a bomber. Cities, one suddenly realizes, are built on confidence, and the more modern and intricate they are the more confidence is necessary. Here is another unsuspected vulnerability, we discover, in America's wealth and magnificence.

And for a final thought on the anarchy, it is an idiot nation that lets hucksters sell handguns in hardware stores and rifles in mail order houses, knowing full well that psychotics and firearms come together as inevitably as male and female to coitis, and where the most cherished and admired – John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King – are shot through the neck by white snipers in order that sportsmen can have their guns and businessmen their profits. Yes, that's anarchy. As for us, we'd rather be with the larking Negro boys smashing plate glass and grabbing loot than with the officers and members of the National Rifle Association lobbying against a simple firearms licensing law such as they have in every other civilized nation.

With Kennedy

★ We flew in from Indianapolis in the Kennedy party last week and saw the pillars of smoke rising from the Capital as we made an evening landing. In the big university auditorium at Muncie, Indiana, Kennedy finished his speech on civil rights, and a Negro in the balcony boldly rose and asked: "You are putting great faith in White America, Mr. Kennedy. Is that faith justified?" "Yes," answered the senator unhesitatingly, and went out to find King murdered.

Now that President Johnson has bowed out many people seem to be transferring their hatred to Kennedy. It is quite surprising how passionate this distrust often is. Maybe in its emotional state, the country needs someone who does not polarize passion: witty, low-keyed Gene McCarthy doesn't. He moves to his fate in the Indiana primary, May 7. All the experts tell us that he will not do so well there. The experts, it may be added, have been wrong most of the time – in this extraordinary year.

Or there is Hubert Humphrey. He is sunny and likeable and the natural heir of the Democratic Establishment. We take his unavowed candidacy very seriously. He has been mistaken on Vietnam from our point of view, and almost a flunkey to President Johnson; but even so it is hard to hate Hubert. One irony is that the people who used to dislike him most – the southerners and businessmen – and who regarded him as a brash, gabby radical, now generally prefer him to Bobby. The two have changed roles. There is a kind of universal fondness for "poor" Hubert overshadowed by Mr. Johnson, and his enthusiastic loquacity is a national joke. He is an eloquent man, it is admitted, only nobody has found the button that turns him off.

At Indianapolis with Senator Kennedy we witnessed an odd scene. He was supposed to dedicate a new campaign headquarters in a Negro ward. The outdoor crowd was gathered, ready for high jinks and enthusiasm. Mr. Kennedy brought the crushing news that King had been murdered in Memphis. Without notes and speaking with restrained tension to a predominantly Negro crowd suddenly silent and huddled against the night cold, he made a moving talk. Maybe Willard Wirtz could have made it, and certainly Adlai Stevenson but few others that we know of. "In this difficult day, and in this difficult time for the United States," he said, "it is perhaps well to ask what kind of nation we are and what direction we want to move in."

The hired campaign searchlight behind picked at the low-hanging clouds. He continued quietly that he struggled in his own heart against the same kind of feeling of hatred and injustice that Negroes must feel tonight. "I had a member of my family killed," he said, "but he was killed by a white man."

He quoted from Aeschylus (his favorite poet, he told the wondering crowd) – "Even in our sleep pain, which cannot forget, falls drop by drop upon the heart until, in our despair, against our will, comes wisdom through the awful grace of God."

It sounded like a prayer. A strange evening, not soon to be forgotten.

★ *Note:* Congress finally passed a watered-down, open-housing civil rights bill whose rejection at this time would have been a disaster but whose enactment, we think, won't really change things very much in the ghetto. They need two things above all, *jobs* and *income* – the government as employer of last resort, and income maintenance through a family allowance or negative income tax.

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Payment Overdue

The President, his executive officers, the Vice President, most members of Congress (especially senators and representatives from the Deep South) remind us, on the hour, around the clock, that this nation will not fail to honor its commitment. To what and to whom? To freedom in Asia, and to a government in Saigon, almost any government, that does battle against Vietnamese revolutionaries who are on the side of Ho Chi Minh, of radical social reform and national independence. Thousands of American lives have been sacrificed to our commitment; factories, homes, farms have been smashed to prove the sincerity of our pledge; $30 billion a year has been budgeted in its service. And meanwhile, we have been asked, begged, by other champions of freedom to see and care about America as it is (not as travelers, but as penitents), to understand what life is like for the poor, particularly the black poor, and do something big about it. These pleaders have been talking about the half million or so Negro males aged 16-24, who live in the centers of cities, 22.5 percent of whom have no jobs; and the work available to most of the rest is menial, insecure, sporadic. They have been pointing to urban ghettos that lack proper sanitation, policing, pollution control, parks and playgrounds, schools, clinics, hospitals. No greater ingenuity or wealth is needed to meet this commitment than to meet the one in Saigon; indeed less, for the pledge to Saigon is beyond our power to keep. Correcting such domestic deficiencies would provide jobs, as well as better services, homes, public facilities.

The domestic agenda has been written and read again and again. Our welfare system is barbaric; help is denied a man who lives with and tries to support his family (thus excluding about three-fourths of the poor from welfare). Payments for the old and the disabled are disgracefully small. Commissions have been appointed, businessmen have joined committees, studies made and revised, bills introduced in the Congress. Yet there has yet to be made a national commitment to social justice that is remotely comparable in scale to our military commitment. And so Martin Luther King Jr. marches in aid of Memphis' garbage collectors; he is killed; cities are occupied by troops; stores are looted and burned in Washington, D.C., Chicago, Baltimore, Cincinnati, Newark, New York, Pittsburgh, Detroit, and in hundreds of other places. And for a week, the black poor have the front pages. Congress quickly passes an "open occupancy" housing bill which will make little difference in the ghettos; then the

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congressmen go away, home for Easter to talk to their constituents – most of them white. The President deplores the assassination and the violence that followed it, announces he will address the Congress and the nation on the disorders, cancels the speech. He is, after all, on record for budgetary "austerity." He has already told the Congress what he wants. His new budget relies heavily on the private sector to build new housing. His recommended aid to disadvantaged schools ($1.2 billion) is below even the amount already authorized by Congress ($2.7 billion).

The America that allocates the wealth, the jobs and the honors responded to the riots not altogether unsympathetically, and the troops behaved with admirable restraint. White America is concerned for the security of its children and the safety of its streets – though it is black children and black streets that are most insecure and unsafe.

There are no miracle drugs to cure poverty and prejudice. There are remedies, however, and they are in stock. The Riot Commission produced a fistful of them; some for temporary relief, others for domestic tranquility in the longer run – expanded welfare payments, a guaranteed minimum income, two million new jobs (half in the public and half in the private sector), six million low- and modest-income homes, expanded rent supplements and cheaper building loans, a larger Head Start program, desegregation as a condition for federal aid. It gave no price tags. Others have done so. For instance, the estimated cost of providing day care and pre-school training for a substantial number of the 3.6 million disadvantaged children under six years of age is around $4.1 billion a year. Providing a million public jobs over the next three years – allowing for an average annual wage of $4,000, plus $500 for training and another $500 for overhead – would run to $5 billion. In his last written statement, Dr. King suggested $10 or $12 billion a year as the price of eliminating poverty. That is certainly underestimating the amount needed. An income support program could cost anywhere from $2.5 billion annually to $10 or $12 billion, depending on how ambitious the scheme is. The benefits of that program, sometimes described as a "negative income tax," would come quickly. It is a way of giving the poor a tax cut; benefits are paid in relation to family size and are reduced as other family incomes grow; all such plans preserve the incentive to work.

"Well, it wasn't very pretty before, either."

But any such figures make Congress even more nervous than riots. And that is why Dr. King feared that Congress and the Administration would go on tinkering with what he called "trivial and half-hearted measures," even though "the flash point of Negro rage is close at hand." Congress was moving backward, he said, not forward, cutting anti-poverty spending and barring thousands of children from any welfare. Yet there are measures before the Congress which are not trivial. There is Sen. Joseph Clark's emergency employment bill (2.4 million jobs at a cost of $1 to $3 billion); Rep. James O'Hara's work bill (one million jobs, $4 billion); Sen. Robert Kennedy's bill to repeal the freeze that Congress put on the number of dependent children who are eligible for public welfare assistance.

One of the most grievous delusions is that America cannot afford its own redemption. In the past 20 years, real output of goods and services has doubled; personal incomes have grown by about half. Our per capita Gross National Product (as of 1965, and the figure is higher now) was $3,501 – and for Western Europe, $1,435; Latin America, $386; Africa, $154. The *total* tax take in this country as of 1966, according to a study by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, was 28.2 percent of our GNP (41.1 percent in Sweden, 38.6 percent in France, 34.9 percent in West Germany, 31.3 percent in the UK). A return to the personal income and corporate tax structure of 1963 alone would produce an estimated $20 billion in additional federal revenue.

Payment is overdue on the bill for justice.

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Talking While Fighting

The fighting in South Vietnam last week went on unabated on our side, while Washington and Hanoi cast about for suitable ground on which to hold talks. Hanoi plainly wished to have them in Cambodia, Washington indicated Prompenh would do if Hanoi insisted but preferred a spot more convenient for swift communication between Averell Harriman and the White House. Suddenly, nobody in Washington had heard about radio. Meanwhile, the largest allied offensive of the war, code-named Complete Victory and involving more than 100,000 troops, was launched in a huge area around Saigon. One excuse was that "preliminary intelligence reports" indicated North Vietnam was pouring troops and equipment into the south. That was enough for Secretary Dean Rusk to tell a restive Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the US has seen "no evidence of restraint" on North Vietnam's part, since President Johnson slightly deescalated the bombing of the North. But Rusk had no good explanation for the miraculous lifting of the siege of Khesanh, where Army troops moved up to relieve the Marines almost without opposition from General Giap's massed forces, which had already ceased harassing the base with their firepower. The Secretary would have it that the dumping of innumerable bombs on the hills around Khesanh, an Air Force practice that has hitherto had precious few results, caused the North Vietnamese forces to melt away. From the timing it seems likelier that raising the siege was Hanoi's way of reciprocating Mr. Johnson's step. If Hanoi is indeed in the mood for reciprocating, thus furnishing the little old anything that the Administration has so long professed to be begging for in order to get negotiations started, normal minds would suspect that this was not the moment to launch, in South Vietnam, a grand military operation called Complete Victory.

The object of that exercise, according to a military spokesman in Saigon, is "the elimination of the enemy." A briefing officer said it "will enable us to drive into remote jungle areas." It's also aimed at giving more training to the South Vietnamese forces. Apparently on the eve of talks it is more essential than ever to preserve all the old fictions – that militarywise things have never been better for our side, that as Mr. Johnson said, the American forces in Vietnam have "seized the initiative," and that the Saigon regime is a healthy, flourishing plant and its army needs only a little more training to be able to lick the Viet Cong. Perhaps "remote jungle areas" were chosen for this, because the Vietnamese troops, according to the Saigon correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor*, "looted and then ruined the cities they failed in the first place to protect," in the aftermath of the recent Tet offensive. Apparently the Viet Cong were not entirely responsible for the $173,633,000 property damage the US mission in Saigon now says was the cost of "the enemy's lunar New Year offensive."

Edwin O. Reischauer, former Ambassador to Japan, thinks there's a 50-50 chance of the war ending in the next six months, "or well on the way to being ended." That seems doubtful, unless the self-eroded Thieu-Ky regime in Saigon simply collapses, which could happen. Otherwise, the chances are that negotiations for ending the war will be long and tough. They ought not to be put down on that account.

In recent weeks there have been a number of warnings in this country against entering into negotiations with North Vietnam. The frustrating two years of talks in Korea are cited as a cautionary example of what happens when the US allows itself to be drawn into the "trap" of allowing a communist opponent to continue "fighting while negotiating." It is frequently asserted, by Joseph Alsop among others, that this country suffered twice as many casualties during the Korean talks as it did in the year of fighting which preceded them. The assertion is not supported by fact. According to figures supplied by Defense Department historians, US battle deaths during the pre-negotiation period in Korea, June 25, 1950 to midnight, Friday, July 13, 1951, numbered 20,929 and the wounded numbered 53,784. During the subsequent period of negotiations for a complete cease-fire, from midnight July 13, 1951, to July 27, 1953, the number of US battle deaths was 12,700 and the number of wounded was 49,500. Considering deaths only, the casualty rate during the last two years of the war was less than one-third that of the first year of the war. Certainly it would have been preferable to obtain a cease-fire early in the negotiations. But from the standpoint of reducing casualties, it was clearly in the US interest to have talks and reduced hostilities, rather than continuing the see-saw offensives and heavy bleeding of the first year of the Korean war. It is interesting to note that the US annual casualty rate during the two years of negotiations in Korea was lower than the average for the last two calendar years in Vietnam.

The first 15 weeks of 1968 have produced more than 5,000 American battle deaths in Vietnam. There are few parallels between the Korean and the Vietnamese war. But one lesson of Panmunjom is that, in the absence of a cease-fire agreement, "fighting and negotiating," if it produces an abatement of hostilities, is far preferable to an attempt to bludgeon the other side into submission.

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McCarthy's Win Strategy

Act II – Confrontation With Robert Kennedy

by Paul R. Wieck

Nobody hates Gene McCarthy. This, in itself, is incredible inasmuch as his was the hand which pulled the string that collapsed the house of cards in which all the political myths of 1968 were stored. Now, standing amidst the fallen cards, he is exposed as the man he appears to have meant to be all along: The man who, without arousing undying enmity, can get the votes and stir the enthusiasm that elude both of his Democratic competitors – Sen. Robert F. Kennedy and, in all probability, Vice President Humphrey.

What Gene McCarthy hopes to tell the politicians who will hold the balance of power in Chicago is this: Come November, mine will be the longest and the strongest of all political coattails.

This is the script as written by and for Gene McCarthy as the curtain goes up on the second act, when the central scene will be his confrontation with Senator Kennedy in a series of exhausting, but politically telling, primaries in Indiana, Nebraska, Oregon and California, in that order.

How will this second act be played out, now that President Johnson seems to be moving toward the conference table and the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. has turned the focus on slum-ridden ghettos a full two months earlier than anyone expected?

It's really a brand new scenario.

From its inception, Gene McCarthy's campaign has been a genuine people's revolution. His act of becoming a candidate was a highly personal act (at the start he had practically no organization). It was a response to grass roots sentiment, not terribly visible in Washington and not engaging the attention of the political elite in the nation's capital. Thus, the surprise when McCarthy's supporters overran caucuses all over Minnesota and Iowa and in Seattle. It shouldn't have been a surprise. Furthermore, they're still there and at work. McCarthy's major contribution to this movement was to present himself in a way that evoked a strong, plus reaction from multitudes of voters tired and suspicious of the gimmicks and demagoguery of politics; indeed, tired of "politicians."

Thus, the residents of small towns, of farms, of affluent suburbs, of medium sized towns, of the wealthier sections of the inner city, flocked to him, both in the primaries in New Hampshire and Wisconsin and in party caucuses elsewhere.

Is this anti-political reservoir he tapped still high in the aftermath of President Johnson's withdrawal and the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.? Probably, and perhaps in greater force.

But McCarthy now faces different opponents. There is Kennedy, whose first move was to dramatize his appeal as a vote-getter in a 15-state tour that drew huge, screaming crowds, primarily on college campuses across the West and in the black and brown ghettos of the inner cities. It was effective. He does stir enthusiasm. More than that. He excited a certain frenzy, although local politicians who came to watch noticed that a large percentage were drawn from local high schools, where there isn't a voter.

It was generally held, particularly among supporters of Kennedy, that the initial bitterness caused by the timing of his reassessment (immediately following McCarthy's New Hampshire triumph) would be short-lived: "In two weeks, it'll all be forgotten." This, as it turns out, isn't true. Instead, every new development seems to stir a fresh wave of antagonism, often frightening in its intensity.

One of the few states to take a nose count since President Johnson's withdrawal is Wyoming, one of the Rocky Mountain states in which Senator Kennedy was thought to have strong support (some magazine counts gave him an overwhelming majority of that state's delegates). The Wyoming State Central Committee met the weekend after Johnson pulled out, in the wake of the Kennedy blitz of potential delegates that started the Monday morning after the President's announcement. To the surprise of pro-Johnson leaders, a private nose count of the state committee found it 36-5 in favor of standing behind Sen. Gale McGee (D) in his support of Vice President Humphrey. If left to choose between McCarthy and Kennedy, the same count found them better than 2-1 for McCarthy.

It now appears that, despite the blitz in that state, Senator Kennedy can count on no more than two or three of Wyoming's 22 delegates. He, like Senator McCarthy, must count on the primaries – on Act 2 – to put his campaign in high gear.

Unlike Kennedy, Vice President Humphrey doesn't seem to arouse the old, pre-1964 antagonisms directed against him, particularly within the political establishment. However, he doesn't stir enthusiasm outside a limited circle, either. His is a static sort of support. He has the "old guard" of organized labor, powerful at the top but of questionable pulling power down below; the "loyalist" Democrats of the South, who fear for their political lives if the ticket is led by RFK; a number of border state and Western members of Con-

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gress who, like the Southerners, see themselves going down to defeat on an RFK-led ticket.

Ironically, the man who not so long ago thrilled the liberal-left now suffers from more than a generation gap. He is confronted by a generation chasm.

How does Gene McCarthy fare in this sort of polarization? Again, he must rely on his people's army. Except for the elected politicians, there have been few defections from it, even in states like New York. Slowly, surely, his supporters are scaling the walls of the political establishment in state after state.

Right now, it appears he can go to Chicago with at least 400 delegates, aside from the four primary states. If he can pick up additional votes in at least two of the four, he will be alive and well in Chicago.

There are a number of "key" states to watch. First, Pennsylvania, where McCarthy is the only one on the April 23 primary ballot, but where his supporters are running 76 candidates for the 108 district delegate spots (3/4 votes for a total of 81) to be filled by the voters the same day.

Two weeks before the primary, McCarthy supporters were aiming at electing up to 40 district delegates (for 30 votes) and, if they can pull at least 200,000 votes for McCarthy, some drop-outs from the regular organization for a total of one-fourth to one-third of the 130-vote delegation to the national convention.

Organized labor, a major force in Pennsylvania Democratic politics, will probably hold Mayors Jim Barr of Pittsburgh and Jim Tate of Philadelphia behind Humphrey, thus helping to split the remainder.

In Connecticut, the success of McCarthy's supporters in 30 communities in the April 10 primary, when they won approximately 115 additional delegates to the state convention (he already had a hundred others), gives them a chance of picking off between a quarter and a third of that state's delegation of 44, and of abolishing the unit rule, depending upon what arrangement can be made with which group within the badly-split "regular" organization. McCarthy won in blue-collar New Britain, academic New Haven as well as suburban Stamford and Darien (but he did poorly in industrial Hartford). It should be remembered that Connecticut had been thought "safe" John Bailey country; and that the state, along with all of New England, was solidly John F. Kennedy in 1960.

Colorado could be a key in the West. There, precinct caucuses will be held in the weeks ahead and, if McCarthy's foot soldiers turn out en masse in Denver and its suburbs, as they have in other similar cities (Minneapolis, Seattle), he could slice off at least one-third of the delegation, with the remainder split.

There are more to be picked up in Michigan, Ohio, Illinois, New Mexico, Missouri, Montana and West Virginia, to name a few states in which McCarthy supporters are making strong races in primary contests or are geared for the precinct caucuses.

Of course, the first real test is Indiana. There, McCarthy trails badly in the early polls, behind both Gov. Roger Brannigan and Kennedy. This is not surprising. McCarthy always lags until he arrives on the scene with his low-key campaign, his composed manner, and his droves of spirited canvassers. In a three-way race, there are probably enough Indiana Democrats who will respond to McCarthy's presence to put him in the running, and he will be backed up by a well-organized (8,000 volunteers) state organization plus 20,000 to 25,000 out-of-state canvassers from Illinois, Kentucky, Michigan and Ohio.

Governor Brannigan, a popular political figure in his state, has his party organization behind him and could end up with the blessing of Humphrey, which would mean more than adequate financing.

Senator Kennedy, who must win in Indiana or lose his image of the invincible candidate with a smooth, well-financed operation at the top channeling the wide support for their man at the bottom, will go all out. But so will Gene McCarthy and his people's army.

Then on to Nebraska, Oregon and California. Although the polls certainly don't show it at this time, California could be a good state for McCarthy. The heavily-populated, well-educated masses in the state's suburban and semi-suburban areas play a heavy role and are filled with the very people McCarthy seems to appeal to the most. It also has 174 delegate votes.

After California, comes New York. If he wins or does quite well in California, his supporters in New York, now holding firm with slates entered in over 30 congressional district primary contests, might be able to win a nice share of the delegation in mid-June.

McCarthy still faces the problem of winning votes in the ghetto. Thus far, he has avoided the kind of special appeal, including even the appeal to his own "peace" supporters, that is thought to be necessary to win in the ethnic and minority communities across the country. Yet, he has been able to siphon off up to one-third of the vote in some and actually has carried industrial towns such as Berlin, N.H.

His approach in Indiana will be watched with care.

At the same time, he has flanks to protect. In Massachusetts, there is growing talk of a widespread write-in campaign for Kennedy in the April 30 primary, despite difficulties. (Boston has voting machines.)

His supporters in some convention states (Iowa, for example) have delicate problems to master at the county, district and state conventions, where the delegates will actually be selected.

Once in Chicago with a firm delegate count, Gene McCarthy could find himself in the enviable role of

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the man in the middle, waiting for one side or the other to give way. He hasn't alienated (or sold) the bosses. Mayor Richard Daley will be there looking for a winner; he is not overly fond of Robert Kennedy, and if McCarthy's coattails look the longest at that moment, he might not hesitate to grab hold of them, as might a couple dozen senators and governors.

Surprisingly, reports are now coming out of Southern states, such as Florida, to the effect that McCarthy, with his cool way, would be the strongest candidate. A Rocky Mountain GOP senator reports receiving calls from Republicans in his state saying that "if the Republicans don't nominate a man who'll level with us like McCarthy does, we're going for him." All this can be upsetting to the politicians, particularly if it continues to catch on.

It all adds up to one thing: It's extremely risky to count Gene McCarthy and his people's army, with its amazing residue of loyalty in the face of the Kennedy blitz and the studied indifference of establishment politicians, out of the race. When it's all over in Chicago, he could be making the curtain call.

Hurrah for the Children's Crusade

As a McCarthyite, I rise to make my best bow in the direction of the senator's unfriends who have given his campaign the name of the Children's Crusade. I know that it was intended to be derisory, but what they do not know is that it is actually charming.

I speak, of course, not as a college student, but as an "intruder on posterity" immensely flattered by being included in a Youth Movement. But I think I speak for a rather large number of Americans of middle age and up who find McCarthy's call an invitation to return to a brighter and merrier, if not a better day. Sitters in the seat of the scornful describe it as our second childhood but, be that as it may, it is a day of cleaner air and sunnier skies, a period when one could believe that a lie is a lie, no matter who tells it.

Among us are a handful of ancients who can remember more than one such period. We can recall Woodrow Wilson, who aspired to, and did, momentarily, "release the generous energies of our people." Here and there is one who served under Pershing in a war that was worth fighting. True, after the war was won a stampede of wild jackasses hoofed the victory into mud, but at that the joke was not on the doughboys, but on their sons and nephews, who had to do it all over again. Old Woodrow warned us – I think in the last speech before his collapse – that it would happen, "at 10 times the cost."

His figuring was slightly off. The Second World War cost us only seven times as many men, but it cost more than 10 times as much money, so in the prophecy league Wilson batted rather better than 500, a record that would satisfy Frank Robinson. Anyhow, the doughboys made the world safe for democracy, and if they didn't make democracy safe for the world, well, that wasn't their job. The survivors of John J. Pershing's personally-conducted touring party in Europe can look back on it as a time when they knew what they were called on to do, and did it. If it seems to them the springtime of life, are they wrong?

To be sure, the clear light faded and we wandered uncertain of our purpose, uncertain of our direction, like a nation old and doddering. Even then there were flashes of youth and vigor, lighting the dark days. One said, "All we have to fear is fear itself." Another said, like Cornwallis at Guilford Courthouse, "Take them as they come" – if they are wounded, bind up the wounds and never mind the uniform. A third said, "Let's talk sense to the American people," and led another Children's Crusade to political disaster but moral triumph.

Senator McCarthy's campaign may be simply another such flash, but what of that? Already it has lighted the landscape with a blaze that has brought stark reality into view. The courage and candor of one leader has made blindingly plain what we have to do, and all that remains is to go ahead and do it.

If they call it childish, well, in a sense they may be right. The White Knight, dauntless and debonair, is a youthful ideal. Mr. Greatheart, sword in hand, leading the way so that the women and children might walk in peace and safety, was not the creation of cynical age. So if it is childish to turn to a new leader who is bold and truthful, instead of following some battered and tattered survivor of many defeats, who cares?

The Children's Crusade is a good name. It is jaunty, it is gay, it is bathed in the light of the rising, not the setting sun. It really means something.

So let all the decrepit old bucks who can remember 1917, think on these words: "The day has come when America is privileged *(sic)* to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured." So pick up your crutches and roll out your wheelchairs, buckos. They call it the Children's Crusade, but the fact is that we're back in the Big Parade.

GERALD W. JOHNSON

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Chicago Regrets

But the Blacks See Little Chance for Reform

by William Barrow

Chicago

On Friday, March 29, six days before the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. set off a frenzy of burning and looting, the city narrowly avoided a foretaste of the horror that later came. On that date, the commander of the 21st District Police ordered closed the Affro-Arts Theater, a renovated former movie house which has become a cultural center in the South Side ghetto and a popular gathering place for serious blacks of a "nationalist" orientation. The theater is leased by Phil Cohran, a musician of considerable talent and originality and leader of a musical aggregation called the Artistic Heritage Ensemble. At considerable expense and effort, Mr. Cohran and his associates transformed the filthy, urine-scented auditorium into a clean, polished house in which anyone could feel comfortable. On weekends, Mr. Cohran had been sponsoring concerts and musical productions which were attracting loyal and growing crowds. During weekdays, various classes and workshops in dance, art, hygiene, languages (Arabic, Swahili, Hebrew) and self-discipline were held in the theater in line with the Islamic ideals of Mr. Cohran. In the weeks (since November 16, 1967) that the Affro-Arts Theater had been open, there had never been a disturbance on the premises, and visitors had willingly abided by Mr. Cohran's rules that smoking and drinking of alcoholic beverages were strictly forbidden.

The official reason given Mr. Cohran for the closing of his theater was that he was operating without an entertainment license. Mr. Cohran *had* applied for such a license, on February 29, when he went to the appropriate office downtown and paid the required $287.50 license cost. He said that he was told at the time that he would receive his license within two weeks, but the license was not mailed to him as promised. When he inquired about the delay, he was told that the license was not going to be approved. No reason was given. It was known, however, that the police had been watching the theater very closely. On February 21, an overflow crowd had thronged the theater for a memorial program marking the birthdate of Malcolm X, with the Rev. Albert B. Cleage of Detroit as guest speaker; and, on the following day, a capacity-plus crowd had listened to LeRoi Jones and a group of local writers during a benefit program for poet-playwright Jones sponsored by the writers' workshop of the Organization of Black American Culture (OBAC).

What finally led to the police clampdown on the theater, South Siders concluded, was the appearance of Stokely Carmichael at a SNCC-sponsored rally on March 25. The police denied this. But the bureau of licensing, reacting to the publicity, sent out teams of electricians and firemen to inspect the theater for violations of city codes. Violations were duly found and Mr. Cohran was told that he would have to install adequate wiring and safety measures, which, it turned out, would cost him several thousands of dollars. There was general astonishment. The white predecessors of Mr. Cohran at the theater had been operating the movie house for many years without any apparent difficulties over violations of city codes.

When this news filtered through the black community, people began talking about demonstrations, and a call went out over the ghetto grapevine for a march on the district police station. Mr. Cohran pleaded for time to allow his approval to move through normal channels, and certain members of OBAC sought to galvanize "responsible" blacks within the community into action in Mr. Cohran's behalf before angry crowds took to the streets.

The murder of Martin Luther King Jr. during that week obscured, for the time being, the mounting tension over the Affro-Arts Theater. Despite the furious burning and pillaging that devastated a four-mile stretch of West Madison Street and brought lesser destruction to business areas in other sections of the city, the huge black ghetto seemed less angry than profoundly shocked and grieved. The martyring of

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Martin Luther King Jr., paradoxically, did not have the direct and personal impact on black Chicagoans that the wanton slaying of an ordinary black man by a white policeman would have had.

Nevertheless, the frightening outbreak on Chicago's congested West Side should have taught a lesson to the city in general and to the administration of Mayor Richard J. Daley in particular, a lesson having nothing to do with the beefing up of the police force, the increase in spying and surveillance of black militants, and the efforts at repressing dissent.

Chicago is vulnerable as few other American cities are to complete immobilization at the hands of organized disruptionists. On the South Side, for example, beginning with 35th Street, every fourth street is commercial; arsonists could set off fires in the principal white-owned businesses on each street, thereby occupying the fire and police departments while saboteurs spread out over the city to derail trains (most of which run through the ghettos), blow up power plants and despoil water systems. Fortunately, so far, there has been no indication of serious efforts at this kind of disruption in the sprawling ghettos. But the public utterances of the mayor seemed, prior to the disorders in the wake of King's death, to challenge black anarchists to consider such measures. Time and again, in statements blacks have assumed were directed toward appeasing whites, the mayor has taken to television to assure the "people of Chicago" that "law and order will prevail," plainly daring potential troublemakers to prove him wrong. The mayor was generally seconded by his police commissioner who offered guarantees that his 12,000-man force was more than equal to the task of containing any civil disorders. But what the hundreds of West Madison Street rampagers proved, most emphatically, was that neither the local police force nor the national guard would be capable of putting down any truly large-scale, organized rioting by the bulk of the blacks in the ghettos. The mayor tacitly admitted this by calling in troops from Colorado and Texas.

The lesson Chicago seems reluctant to learn is that the apathy of its "responsible" citizens and the general implacability of its political institutions contribute to fierce tensions in the city. It is generally known that white vigilantism is riding high around Chicago, as around other urban centers. The rumor mills work overtime. It is whispered, for instance, that the police, using the excuse of some imminent attack from a mysterious black army, has decided on a date for converging on the ghettos and hauling off all suspected "militants," mowing down those who resist arrest. The so-called "militants" long ago gave up expecting anything other than efforts at genocide from the white majority. The hurried installation of a few swimming pools in slum neighborhoods is not calculated to allay those fears.

The absolute inability of the city's political structure to respond to black demands for social and economic justice and for political representation is at the root of this deadly fatalism. From the ghetto point of view, the government demonstrates that it is more interested in evolving toward a full-fledged garrison state than in relieving the plight of ordinary black people – with even the tacit support of affluent blacks. In fact, the ineffectiveness of black leadership looms large and shameful in the gloomy Chicago racial picture. Conservative estimates of the black population of metropolitan Chicago place it around a million. Yet, black activists feel that there are only three black people in *effective* policy-making positions in the city government who can be expected to respond fully and reliably to the needs of the black population. Two of these are independent aldermen in the city council, William Cousins and A. A. (Sammy) Rayner Jr., and one of them is a member of the board of education, Warren Bacon. The other seven black aldermen are commonly derided as "Daley's Dummies" or "The Silent Seven." The other black member of the school board is an elderly (78) but elegant widow of a judge whose principal faults, ironically, are her consistency and her honesty, for she is a product of that era when the highest attainment of black people was the acquisition of the manners and the attitudes –together with the means and the status – to be considered "just like white people" and therefore the aristocrats of the race.

There are, of course, thousands of other black people in the city government of Chicago – in fact, a large part of the black middle class draws down a check from some governmental agency – but they would no more challenge the system than they would climb to the top of the Prudential Building and jump off. Not only that: many of them seem to find it necessary, because of their complicity in their own disenfranchisement, to resist serious attempts to throw a monkey wrench into The Machine. Martin Luther King Jr. was scorned in these circles for his "failure" to bring reform to the exploitative housing and employment patterns in the West Side ghetto. It was not understood by these people that the "failure" was theirs and the city's, that King's "success" would have brought hope to the ghetto and thereby dulled the edge of the disaster that now threatens everyone. But, then, the self-preservation of its beneficiaries is the strength of The Machine.

Mayor Daley and the city council dutifully passed

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a resolution denouncing the assassin of Dr. King and praising the civil rights leader's great and good works, but most black Chicagoans regarded the gesture as profoundly cynical. The Daley administration had fought King to a standstill in King's largely abortive 1966 campaign in the Lawndale area, the same community which went up in flames. The city's highly touted "Summit Agreement," in which local Establishment leaders, meeting with King and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference aides, pledged to lower racial barriers in housing and jobs, never came to much. Even the four daily white newspapers, which turned out reams of laudatory copy memorializing the martyred King, generally had taken editorial viewpoints hostile to King's programs, while professing sympathy for his ultimate aims. The Nobel Peace Prize winner might have had Chicago particularly in mind when he wrote, a few days before his death, that "Not a single basic cause of the (1966 and 1967) riots has been corrected."

The "Wet Fish" Debates

by Robert Yoakum

Most congressmen appeared pleased and impressed with what they had wrought on March 22 and April 3 – the dates on which the Senate and the House, respectively, voted codes of ethics for members and employees. Senator George Aiken did call the Senate bill "the farce of the year." But most legislators saw their work with the eyes of Rep. Edna Kelly of Brooklyn, who called the House code "a giant step toward the strengthening of our form of government . . . adding character, prestige and dignity" to that body.

Enthusiasm was more restrained outside Congress. A New York Times *editorial began: "The Senate spent last week taking a test on ethics and the results are now in. The Senate flunked." A "Code of Convenience" is what the* Washington Post *called the product of the 405-1 House vote: "The country should let the House know that it must do better than this if it is to claim credit for ushering in a new era in congressional morality." Robert L. Jackson of the* Los Angeles Times *wire service wrote: "The ethics committees of both chambers, which authored the codes, have come out of the starting gates in a walk." The Waterbury (Conn.)* Republican *wrote: "We do not think this is what the public has in mind when it says it wants Congress to be above reproach."* Time *magazine concluded: "The adopted measure, passed 67-1 in the Senate's rush to finish its week's work, is a pale cautionary code unlikely to infringe on rules of the club. . . ."*

Both the Upper Club and the Lower Club had done everything possible to keep scandals out of the newspapers, but three big stories did get out. Every member knew of yet other scandals that had been hidden behind the ivy-covered walls, muted by tapestry, tradition, and the fear of many members that they might get caught up in an exposé. But the three stories that did reach the man in the street were embarrassing. To make things worse, two of the three cases reflected on Lyndon Johnstone, beloved Majority Leader. One involved his male secretary, B. B. Baker, and another his old ally, Thomas J. Odd.

"People outside could easily conclude that there is a lot of that sort of thing going on here!" groaned one distressed member.

"There is," replied a disrespectful member.

"Balderdash!" cried the first. "Most of us are perfectly honest and respectable."

"Most of us *think* we are honest and respectable," the other said, "but there are many outside, and a few inside, who don't agree. The only way to convince everyone, inside and out, is to bind ourselves to a strict code of ethics that no man could misunderstand or easily flout."

So a reluctant decision was made in each club to revise the Rules of Conduct for members and employees. A handful of members of both clubs looked forward eagerly to this chance for reform, which some of them had been urging for decades. They believed that the clubs wouldn't amount to much until they

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found ways to eliminate graft and misappropriation and conflict of interest. Most members, though, became morose and ill-tempered whenever the subject of ethics was brought up. ("It's all the fault of the bloody newspapers," one member bellowed in the bar. "If there weren't any papers there wouldn't be any problems." And who could disagree?)

In the Upper Club the task of forging tighter Rules was handed to the Committee on Good Form and Good Conduct – the same body that had investigated Mr. Odd, the President's friend who had been caught snitching silverware, towels, and anything else of value that could be carried out in a suitcase. (He had also abused his club offices for personal gain in a dozen ways, but nearly everyone agreed that the wayward member could be censured without poking into all of his transgressions. "Why push a chap's face into it?" was the way one member summed up the majority feeling.)

In the Lower Club the body charged with this grim work was the Committee on Morals and Manners, a group of 12 men who had been selected to represent every view, thereby assuring a report that would offend no one.

The reports, when they came out, offended no one – except that same handful of reformers in each body who had hoped for rules that would wipe out all ambiguity and deviousness. The most enthusiastic comment from the reform crowd came from a Californian named Gohelion, who said, "Well, it's better than a wet fish." That is how the "Wet Fish Debates" got their name. When the reports went to the full membership for a vote, some of the irreverent members in each club asked, "Is the report better than a wet fish?" It wasn't an easy question to answer.

The Lower Club set a two-hour limit on debate, a restriction that would have nonplussed Plato, but it seemed not to curb unduly the philosophic or forensic ambitions of most members. (The two-hour rule, a simple calculation will show, gave each of the 435 members exactly one-quater of a minute to speak his piece on public morality. If the Committee's introductory remarks are deducted, the figure drops to one-fifth of a minute.) The Upper Club talked, off and on, for six days.

Some members were too embarrassed to vote, but an overwhelming majority approved rules as revised by the committees.

There were two heroes of the majorities in both clubs – men who were credited with "turning back the forces of irresponsible, bleeding-heart do-gooders." One was the gusty leader of the Minority Group in the Upper Club, Patrick Henry McKinley, a man of flowing locks, liquid voice, and fluid morality. In the Lower Club his former counterpart, Charles A. Haddock, stemmed the slight reformist tide with a stupendous outpouring of slush that caused many less gifted members great envy.

It might be helpful to readers who could not follow the ethics debates – or who were not able, as I was, to interview members who had been through the harrowing experience – to sum up the views of the minority who doubted whether the revised rules *were* better than a wet fish. They had many complaints. They said that it was unseemly of club members to make such a fuss over law and order in the streets (there had been many steamy speeches and resolutions about this recently), and then to show such apathy on the subject of law and order in the clubs. ("It verges on the disgusting," said one observer. "They are ready to restrict other people's rights and to invade their privacy, but they shout and pound desks at small or imagined checks on their own rights and privacy.")

Reformers had also argued that public trust could be earned only if the rules compelled every member to disclose his assets and sources of income.

So disclosure was voted, but not in the way the reformers had in mind. In the Upper Club members were adjured to provide a written summary of their financial interests. The summary will go into a sealed envelope, which is to be locked in a steel drawer, which is to be put in a strongbox, which is to be taken to a vault under a mountain in a secret location in Kentucky. This envelope can be opened for private scrutiny by the Form and Conduct Committee members, but only by a majority vote of Committee members, and *if* a majority of that majority have the letter "R" in their names. ("It sounds quite revolutionary," admitted one reformer, "but you've got to remember that no penalty was voted for anyone who lied on that financial statement.") ("You've also got to remember," said a tired member, "that the toughest reformers in the club, Clifford Casey and Joseph Clarkley, weren't even asked to go on the F and C Committee. That committee isn't going to exhume a lot of financial statements.")

The Lower Club voted a rule that would make *certain* sources of income, above a *certain* figure, available "to responsible public inquiry" – under *certain* circumstances. Members are to be given "promptly" the name, occupation, address, and telephone number (and reason for the inquiry) of anyone asking to see even that limited financial statement. ("Awful good idea, that last bit," said one member. "Can't be too careful where the public is involved, eh?")

Reformers pointed out that special interest groups often paid members for official favors by giving them honorariums for speeches or articles. Under the al-

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tered rules, members could still take such money but payments would be limited to "the customary value of such services." ("If they had said 'the real value,' " snarled the cynic, "almost every member would find selling apples more profitable.")

Reformers pointed out that the rewritten rules of the Upper Club condoned "slush funds" from private sources, including any kind of pressure group or favor-seeker, to be used by club officers for office expenses and publicity. (One reformer called this "a giant step backward"; most members found it the best part of the bill.)

Reformers pointed out that an Upper Club member could avoid any declaration of his financial interests with the simple expedient of shifting everything to his wife, mistress, favorite defense industry, or any other trusted entity from whom he could get it back again. They pointed out also that of the 535 members of both clubs, 314 are lawyers. The Upper Club did vote that any fees from a client over $1,000 would have to be listed in that sealed envelope, but a member could accept ten or one hundred fees of $999 each – even from the same client if each bill mentioned a different service.

Reformers pointed out that although a lawyer-member was prohibited from representing a client before any agency of the club, there was nothing to stop him from collecting money from his law firm when a *partner* handled such a case, although the lawyer-member's membership in the club would probably be known to the club agency.

And so on. To all of this, McKinley and Haddock replied, "Why should we make ourselves into second class citizens?" Or, as the F and C Committee Chairman, John Tennis, said: "We are not dealing here with a group of criminals, anyway." At least one wet fish expert of the past would have disagreed. "It could probably be shown by facts and figures," said Mark Twain, "that there is no distinctly native American criminal class except Congress."

Report from Laos: The Hidden War

by Zalin Grant

Vientiane, Laos

Six hippies, armed with flowers, set out three months ago on a stroll from Luang Prabang, the royal capital in Northern Laos. Outside the small city they encountered a band of Pathet Lao. These indigenous communist guerrillas, like their brothers in the Royal Lao Army, are more inclined to make love than war. They advised the hippies to turn back, because tough North Vietnamese units were nearby. The hippies wisely heeded the advice and returned to Luang Prabang, which has become a mecca for international hippies traveling through Southeast Asia.

The friendly Pathet Lao warning foreshadowed the biggest North Vietnamese offensive in Laos since the First Indochina War in the early 1950's. A few days later, North Vietnamese troops overran a 2,000-man garrison at Nam Bac – a strategic enclave 60 miles north of Luang Prabang – ignominiously defeating the Royal soldiers, who broke and ran when attacked by the smaller North Vietnamese force. Since then, well-equipped North Vietnamese units have slashed across Northern Laos, capturing 27 outposts manned by an army of Meo tribesmen supplied by the CIA.

Vientiane, the dusty administrative capital of Laos and headquarters of Royal Laos forces, sits on the Mekong River at the bottom boundary of Northern Laos. To the southeast is the long panhandle that separates Thailand from Vietnam and leads into Cambodia. The war in the south is separate, in practical terms, from the north because it centers around the Ho Chi Minh trail, which winds through the panhandle. There the North Vietnamese have threatened four of the region's five major cities, surrounded the provincial capital of Saravane and launched heavy mortar attacks on the government strongholds of Attopeu and Lao Ngam.

The new offensive has added 5,000 North Vietnamese troops to the 40,000 already in the country and crumbled the elaborate facade of neutrality constructed by the 1962 Geneva Accords. "The North Vietnamese could take practically any place in Laos in 24 hours," a US official told me, "except Vientiane–and that would take just a bit longer."

Confronted with another of the dark dilemmas that

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have become a Southeast Asia trademark, US officials here are left only with the hope that the heavy rains of the monsoon, which begins in late May, will bog down North Vietnam's supply lines and end the offensive. If not, the US must either deal with a second military front in Laos or try to reestablish neutrality at the conference table.

The idea of neutrality was mainly created in 1961 by the US and Russia, who found they had a "coincidence of interest" in Laos, which forms a narrow buffer between North Vietnam and Thailand. The coincidence was that neither wanted to square off for a major confrontation over the small kingdom, a mountain-dotted country of 3,000,000 farmers, whose biggest cash crop is opium and whose treasury's biggest source of income is from the sale of gold (much of it goes to war profiteers in Vietnam). The Lao have a rich heritage of lassitude, of casual amiability.

For all its obvious handicaps, Laos does have a certain political viability – perhaps even more so than Vietnam – for most Lao, including communists, claim allegiance to King Sisavang Vong, who resides in the royal palace at Luang Prabang. Because of ancient tradition, the king and royal family provide the elite governing corps and represent the country's most unifying force. It was this viability that the US and Russia sought to use in stopping the growing war in 1961 between rightist and neutralist-leftist factions.

Under the 1962 Geneva Accords, signed by 14 nations with Britain and Russia as co-chairmen, a tripartite government was set up. Prince Souvanna Phouma, a neutralist, was installed as prime minister. His half-brother and leader of the communist Pathet Lao, Prince Souphanouvong, became deputy prime minister. A third prince, Boun Oun, was also included in the government, but he soon left to become the most important political leader in Southern Laos.

The Accords assigned the International Control Commission, composed of delegates from India, Canada and Poland, to police the peace. But the real strength for maintaining peace rested on an unwritten agreement between the US and Russia. Supposedly, the US would insure that neutralist Prince Souvanna Phouma remained head of the government. Russia, on the other hand, would influence Hanoi, which controls the Pathet Lao, to prevent armed conflict and keep North Vietnamese troops out of Laos. North Vietnam, however, has traditionally considered the northernmost provinces of Laos as its backyard, and Hanoi refused to remove its troops from the country.

In Southern Laos, Hanoi developed the Ho Chi Minh trail and used it as a major supply route for the Vietnam war. Nine months after the Accords were signed, fighting broke out between Pathet Lao – pushed by North Vietnamese – and Neutralist forces. Shortly afterwards, communist leader Prince Souphanouvong left the administrative capital of Vientiane to join his mountain-based guerrilla forces.

Until this current offensive, the Laos war seesawed up and down: 30,000 Pathet Lao (who are laughed off by US officials here as inept fighters), backed by North Vietnamese regulars, would take government positions during the November to June dry season; then the US-supplied 70,000 government troops would retake most of the positions when North Vietnamese supply lines bogged down in the monsoon mud.

The US involvement in the Laos war has been run by the Central Intelligence Agency – also in violation of the Geneva Accords. For at least four years, the Agency has staged secret operations into Laos from Udorn and Ubon Air Force bases in northern Thailand, using an Air America fleet of silver-painted helicopters, prop-driven C-123's and Caribous to supply and set up defensive outposts in the northern provinces. The outposts, which are called sites – such as "site-36" – are manned by Meo tribesmen, ethnic hills people, fierce fighters who fought with the French against the Viet Minh in the first war here. Though CIA agents closely direct outpost operations, Thai soldiers, who have been trained by the US Special Forces and infiltrated into Laos, lead the Meo on everyday operations. The new offensive has overrun 27 of the CIA-supplied outposts.

Throughout the northern provinces the morale of the ill-equipped 10,000 Meo fighters has sunk disastrously. After the North Vietnamese recently took a clandestine American radio station, used for classified purposes and defended by Meo, a US official complained bitterly to reporters: "We're bugging out on our damn commitment to the little guys." But there is little that the CIA or US can do to stem the offensive without bringing in troops and equipment.

The war in Southern Laos is also going badly. Fully seven new battalions of North Vietnamese shock troops have been engaged in actions there, though for the past few weeks they have been inexplicably quiet. When the North Vietnamese attacked the southern stronghold of Attopeu, which overlooks the jungled region of the winding Ho Chi Minh trail, they used mobile and highly accurate rockets for the first time in the Laos war.

The Royal Lao Army is largely demoralized. High-ranking officers have complained, with good reason, that the North Vietnamese are better equipped. The military assistance program, which is uniquely administered by the Agency for International Development as an obvious device to bypass the Geneva Accords,

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was stepped up after the new offensive began. Heavy artillery and mortars are on the way, and the first M-16 automatic rifles were unveiled at a recent armed forces day parade. There has been *coup* talk among the Lao generals who disagree with Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma's strong belief that the fiction of neutrality must be maintained. But US intelligence operatives have thus far successfully used their influence to ward off a military overthrow by threatening to withdraw support if Souvanna is toppled.

That Laos has not completely fallen apart is in large measure due to US Ambassador William H. Sullivan, 45, who as Averell Harriman's deputy helped negotiate the 1962 Accords. Sullivan has kept the US in what is referred to here as "low-profile." Not counting the CIA's secret paramilitary group and the Air America personnel under contract to them, there are only 1,752 Americans in Laos. This includes businessmen, mission employees, Air America and Continental pilots under contract to the US, AID, International Voluntary Services workers, school teachers, missionaries and 72 military attachés – who are really more advisors than conventionally-defined "attachés."

Under Sullivan's direction, AID has stabilized the Lao economy and made some headway in developing the non-nation, which a few years ago was an example of the most disgraceful misuse of aid in the world. Slowly, AID officials have tightened the reins on Lao officials, who – in Southeast Asia fashion – view corruption somewhat permissively. (For six years, AID had sold aviation gas at half-price to six rickety Laos airlines known collectively because of their major cargo as "Air Opium." Three months ago, AID finally withdrew the half-price privilege, deciding that it was indirectly subsidizing opium smuggling from Laos to the world's illicit markets.)

The new offensive has shaken Sullivan's embassy. "We make a fetish of not throwing up rockets at every little bit of trouble," one embassy official told me, "but now we're really worried."

There is a tendency, though, for US and other diplomats in Vientiane to go along with the Russian position that North Vietnam is only trying to reset the balance by recovering territory lost in past rainy seasons to government troops. Soviet diplomats have been active on Vientiane's cocktail and canapé circuit, commiserating with American officials, reporting that they have been unable to keep their part of the 1962 bargain to check Hanoi's armed presence in Laos because "Our Vietnamese are like your Vietnamese – they don't always accept advice." US officials say the Soviets are embarrassed by the North Vietnam offensive, and view it as a sign of China's increasing influence over Hanoi. There are no surface signs, however, of Russia's discomfort over the deteriorating situation. At the high-ceilinged villa outside Vientiane that serves as the Soviet Embassy, there is a somnolence undisturbed except for occasional tennis games played by Russian security guards in a frontyard court.

What is the most probable reason for the new offensive? Observers here suggest that the answer is twofold: 1) In Northern Laos, the offensive is aimed at gaining ground to put North Vietnam in a better bargaining position if and when negotiations begin to end the Vietnam war; 2) In the South, Hanoi is preparing for a wider war and protecting the Ho Chi Minh trail.

The most logical place for a US invasion to cut off the Ho Chi Minh trail would be along Route Nine, which stretches like a belt from the Thailand-Laos border to the South Vietnamese coast. The US has built its line of combat bases against North Vietnamese infiltration along the South Vietnam portion of Route Nine – from Khesanh on the Lao border to the China Sea – and the North Vietnamese in this offensive are preparing for the eventuality that the US might extend the line into Laos.

It is doubtful that infiltration could be stopped with anything less than an invasion. More than a year ago, I flew in with a spotter plane from Khesanh over the splintered trails that make up the Ho Chi Minh trail in Laos. The pilot pointed out the bomb-pocked trail when it broke from its triple-canopied rain forest cover and the small bridges niched into the shanks of rolling mountains. "It is impossible," he said, "to stop infiltration by bombing." Nonetheless, officials here – from Ambassador Sullivan to the lowest ranking military "attaché" – think that an invasion of Laos is out of the question under current circumstances. First of all, it is estimated that it would take nearly 200,000 troops to block off the trail. Secondly, a US invasion would leave China the option of entering the war on a limited scale in support of the Pathet Lao, without necessarily joining in the Vietnam fighting. Lao military officers recently reported three battalions of Chinese regulars wearing Mao Tse-tung buttons were in country. US officials here neither confirm nor deny the reports. As in other cases in Southeast Asia, most of the options seem to lie with the other side.

Viewed from this jittery capital, the situation in Laos – always bad – is particularly bleak – and unless President Johnson's bombing limitation and talks with Hanoi lead to further negotiations to end the war, the situation may grow worse. But official optimism is endemic in Laos as it is in Vietnam and Thailand, and our representatives are down-playing the new offensive. When I criticized the optimism of one official, my escort, embarrassed, said: "What did you want *him* to say – that we're getting beat here?"

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Martin Luther King's Death Marked the Start of an Era

Dissensus Politics

A Strategy for Winning Economic Rights

by Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward

In the week after his death, Martin Luther King was memorialized as both leader and symbol of the Southern black confrontation with white America, a confrontation of such moral clarity and intensity that it moved a majority of Americans to unite in support of the civil rights legislation of 1964 and '65. This interpretation confirms the widely held belief that Negroes cannot obtain justice unless they coalesce with other groups in a majority alliance – which means, of course, the national Democratic coalition. According to this view, it is the wishes of a majority that finally impel political leaders to act. The task, therefore, is to identify the issues and exchanges by which a unified majority can be culled from a people divided by class and region, by race and religion.

But the political dynamics of the Southern phase of the civil rights movement may have been quite the reverse of what is commonly supposed. We would argue that its legislative victories were not the product of a majority consensus, but of cleavage in the North-South Democratic coalition. The political impact of non-violent protests, of "moral confrontations," was to widen that cleavage. The legislative concessions of 1964 and '65 owed less to the numbers of people committed to the civil-rights movement – whether blacks or their white allies – than to the sharply divisive impact the movement had upon an already strained North-South Democratic partnership. And if this theory is correct, it may be that blacks and other minorities can also compel future gains from the majority coalition by threatening to disrupt it.

Negroes have been part of the Democratic coalition for almost four decades – that is, beginning with the reorganization of the Democratic Party during the elections of 1928 and 1932, when an alliance was struck between urban ethnic groups in the North and the traditionally Democratic South. In 1936, a majority of blacks voted Democratic for the first time. As members of that coalition, blacks have obtained minor concessions. In 1940, for example, a Roosevelt-oriented Supreme Court declared the white primary unconstitutional and in 1941 FDR established the Fair Employment Practices Commission. Each concession to Negroes was fiercely resisted by Southern Democrats who succeeded in warding off civil rights legislation of any significance for nearly three decades.

The first overt signs that the North-South partnership was in danger of dissolving appeared during the presidential campaign of 1948. Early in February, Truman, responding to the swelling numbers of blacks in the North, urged Congress to act on the recommendations of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, which had reported the previous year. He went on to press for a strong civil-rights plank in the party platform. Incensed, delegates from the Southern states convened in July to get a States' Rights Party on the ballot. An irate Georgia congressman summed up Southern sentiment with the declaration that "Harlem is wielding more influence . . . than the entire white South." In the subsequent election, four Deep South states – Louisiana, South Carolina, Alabama, and Mississippi – actually delivered their electoral votes to the States' Rights presidential candidate. The South has not been "solid" since.

At the convention of 1952 and again in 1956, Democratic leaders backed off, trying to placate the Dixiecrat delegates by adopting a watered-down "compromise" civil-rights plank and, after long drawn-out intraparty struggles, seating them without a "loyalty" pledge. The Dixiecrat states duly returned to the Democratic columns in 1952, but South Carolina and Louisiana by very slim majorities. Elsewhere in the

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South the Republicans made big gains: Florida, Virginia, Tennessee, and Texas went for Eisenhower in 1952, to be joined by Louisiana and Kentucky in 1956. Missouri also voted Republican in 1952, although it returned to the Democratic fold in 1956. The party's hold on the South was slipping rapidly.

The South was, of course, provoked by the civil-rights challenges made by the Northern wing of the party, however ineffectual those challenges had so far been. Southern opinion was especially aroused by the Supreme Court's landmark decision against segregated education, won by NAACP attorneys in 1954, and which marked the emergence of desegregation as a national issue. But if that issue aroused fury in the South, it evoked considerable sympathy in the North, especially among the growing black electorate of the cities. Nevertheless, conciliation of the South was still the order of the day. Campaigning in 1956, Stevenson called for "slow but deliberate" efforts to desegregate.

It was not until 1955, when Martin Luther King led the Montgomery bus boycott, that organized civil-rights protests seized the attention of the nation. With each wave of protest, Northern black voters grew increasingly restive, and the Democratic Party could not ignore it. Appeasement of Southern racism was becoming a political liability, for Negroes who had been staunchly loyal to the party of the New Deal were beginning to defect. In 1952, Eisenhower won 21 percent of the black vote; in 1956 he won 39 percent. And in 1957 and 1960, a Democratic Congress passed the first civil-rights measures of the 20th-century.

By 1960, when John Kennedy campaigned on a strong civil-rights platform, the collapse of the Southern wing of the party was plainly visible: in the three previous presidential elections only Georgia, Arkansas, and North Carolina consistently gave their electoral votes to the Democratic candidate. Convinced that he could not resurrect Southern allegiance, Kennedy appealed to black voters in the industrial states. The choice was correct. While the Democratic showing in the South was poor, it was no worse than during the conciliatory Stevenson campaigns. The States' Rights Party won Mississippi and Alabama; Florida, Tennessee, Kentucky and Virginia voted Republican. And although Negro skepticism toward Democratic pledges on civil rights persisted, costing Kennedy 30 percent of the national black vote, the ghettos in a number of strategic Northern cities turned in extraordinary Democratic percentages, swinging several critical states in very close races to assure his election.

Nevertheless, Kennedy did virtually nothing on civil rights during his first two years. He had won office, but narrowly. Moreover, his overall legislative program was being throttled by the conservative coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats, and the midterm elections of 1962 threatened to further deplete his congressional strength. It was not only that he wished to avoid fanning the fires of white resistance in the South; the racism of the white working class was also beginning to become an unmanageably divisive factor in the Democratic urban coalition. Accordingly, he signed an Executive Order barring discrimination in federally subsidized housing, but did nothing to implement it; he backed a bill to ease voter literacy requirements, but sent no substantial civil-rights legislation to Congress. And he waited apprehensively for the midterm election.

However, the Democrats in 1962 won an unprecedented mid-term victory, gaining four seats in the Senate and suffering only minimal losses in the House. Significantly, the small Republican advances were in the South, where they added five House seats (and very nearly won a Senate seat in Alabama); thus, Southern support was still eroding, despite continuing Democratic efforts at conciliation.

Meanwhile, civil-rights agitation reached its crescendo, with sit-ins, demonstrations, and boycotts which Southerners repaid with killings, jailings, burnings, and bombings. As the drama played itself out, North-South sentiments on civil-rights issues became sharply polarized, creating the political tension that would finally force legislative action. In February 1963, the President informed Congress of new civil rights proposals, dealing primarily with public accommodations, voting rights and equal employment. He submitted a bill in June.

But the proposed legislation was moderate, and even so it seemed likely to fall prey to the conservative coalition in Congress. Demonstrations escalated. In August, several hundred thousand people assembled for the March on Washington, and throughout the fall demonstrations were mounted in hundreds of cities and towns. In November, a much-strengthened bill was reported out of the House Judiciary Committee, a bill which Lyndon Johnson, following Kennedy's death, pushed through the Congress, using all the political resources of his office to obtain the necessary Republican support, including votes to shut off a filibuster in the Senate. The 1964 Civil Rights Act became law.

The reasoning underlying Johnson's extraordinary commitment to civil rights is not difficult to deduce. He was bidding for heavy Negro support in the upcoming presidential election. Like Kennedy before him, he judged that the Deep South would defect to the

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Republican Party, as five states subsequently did. But the Negro vote turned out to be decisive in a number of Southern states which hung in the balance, such as Arkansas, Florida, Tennessee, and Virginia. More important, Johnson received an astonishing 94 percent of the national black vote, which helped to give him the largest percentage of the popular vote in history.

A year later, with a voting rights bill before Congress, Martin Luther King led thousands of supporters in the Selma marches. Congress enacted the bill. That phase of the civil-rights struggle was over.

We review this history so as to underline the fact that legislative victories were not a simple response to majority sentiments. Left to themselves, labor and liberal and minority groups in the North would not have taken the initiative. Nor was it the sheer numbers involved in the Southern movement that yielded those victories; the protesters were too few to compel the Administration to champion measures that would fracture the North-South coalition alliance. Rather, it was the divisive impact of protest tactics that produced legislative gains by accelerating defections among Southern white voters and threatening to produce defections in the urban ghettos as well.

Legislative concessions were made to mollify pro-civil-rights groups in the North. Notice, however, that the Civil Rights Act of 1965 also laid the groundwork for renewed Democratic strength in the South through provisions to enfranchise Southern Negroes. In time, Democratic constituencies may be rebuilt by drawing together white moderates and newly enfranchised Negroes. So far, Negro registration has increased from 856,000 to 1,493,000 in the six states covered by the Voting Rights Act. A few states in the Deep South may remain in doubt (Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, Louisiana, and Georgia went Republican in '64), but Negro voter registration (up from 8 to 47 percent in Mississippi, for example) may eventually restore even these states to the Democratic columns.

Although the civil-rights movement aggravated tensions in the regional coalition of the Democratic Party, it did not create them. These tensions were produced by the steady movement of blacks to the North and into the big-city Democratic folds, a process which has slowly shifted the balance of political forces in the North-South Democratic partnership. Disruptive protests made it impossible for majority politicians to persist in placating the South. Thus, although the party platform proposed desegregation of interstate transportation in 1948, it was the freedom riders and the brutality and public attention they provoked that produced an ICC order desegregating interstate transportion facilities more than a decade later.

The civil-rights movement is therefore an example of what might be called "dissensus politics": a cadre, acting on behalf of a minority within a coalition, engages in actions which are designed to dislodge (or which threaten to dislodge) not only that minority, but more important, *other significant constituents groups in that same alliance.* Through the cadre's ability to generate defections among other groups in a coalition, its impact becomes far greater than the voting power of the minority. If the strategist of consensus looks for issues and actions to bring groups together, then the strategist of dissensus looks for issues and actions which will drive groups apart.

Tactics to provoke dissensus are probably most effective at times when widespread social or economic change has already undermined a majority coalition, making it vulnerable to attack. Since the leaders of the coalition will tend to resist realignments of power and policy as long as possible, the disrupters must expose the underlying political tensions being produced by changing conditions. Then, confronted with actual or threatened electoral realignments, majority leaders will make concessions in an attempt to restore a weakening coalition or reorganize a shattered one.

Nevertheless, most leaders of the civil-rights movement remain committed to a strategy of influence through consensus politics, as advanced by Bayard Rustin in his article, "From Protest to Politics" (*Commentary*, February 1965). With the passage of the Voting Rights Act, Rustin called for blacks to move from the streets to the polls, especially in alliance with other voting blocs in the traditional liberal-labor-minorities coalition. He pointed to the potential power of newly enfranchised Southern blacks and to the growth of Negro electoral power in Northern cities. But Mr. Rustin does not see that mass action in the streets *did* produce mass action at the polls – *not merely by blacks, but also and primarily, by whites.* If this interpretation has merit, then Rustin was not recommending a shift "from protest to politics" so much as a shift from one political strategy to another – in effect, from dissensus politics to consensus politics.

In the interim between Selma and King's assassination, the central concern of civil-rights forces shifted from legal rights to poverty. King himself began to work in the urban ghettos and to prepare plans for a poor people's campaign for jobs and income. Implicit in this shift is the belief that the tactics which produced legal victories in the South can produce economic gains in Northern cities, and for the same underlying political reasons.

In the past, the Democratic coalition was based on the state parties of the rural South and the big-city parties in the urbanized North. And while Southern

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defections have lent greater weight to the big-city organizations, the cities have become more important in their own right. Two-thirds of our population now live in metropolitan areas. The regional configurations which formerly dominated national politics are rapidly giving way to urban configurations.

The migration of blacks to the North which undermined the regional coalition has also undermined the Democratic coalition in the cities. As their incomes have risen, many traditional Democrats – Irish, Italians, Poles – have moved to the suburbs. Those remaining in the central cities confront growing numbers of newcomers, who are feared at the outset for being both poor and black. *That* fear deepens as the swelling masses of poor blacks threaten white residential enclaves and neighborhood institutions, compete for scarce jobs, and now for control of city government itself.

The urban parties are less capable of containing group conflicts than they once were, chiefly because of the passing of the political machine. In an earlier day, political support was built from among the diverse groups in the cities by the conversion of public goods into private favors. With greater affluence and a changing class structure, however, the better-off majorities in the cities no longer require the personal services of machine politicians but demand instead public services to improve their environment and entrench their newly won class position. These services – whether in education, housing, law enforcement, or urban renewal – have become the grist of urban politics. And with the vast increases in migration during the '50's, it is these services which are the focus of political conflict, for they serve older groups in direct proportion as they victimize newcomers.

Divisive strains are already taking their toll. Besieged by internal conflict, the urban party machinery can no longer mobilize resources and voters in support of national candidates as vigorously as before – a circumstance from which Stevenson suffered badly in the campaigns of '52 and '56. As the racial crisis worsens, the spectre of massive electoral defections looms larger, especially in local contests. The white working classes deserted the Democratic Party in extraordinary numbers in the recent mayoralty elections in Cleveland and Gary, and the same pattern will be repeated in other cities where blacks are sufficiently numerous to challenge white hegemony. These conflicts are debilitating the local organizations needed to carry national elections, and may weaken the allegiance of Democratic voters in national contests as well.

Federal programs initiated for the cities in the last few years were an effort to ease strains among competing groups and to solidify the urban coalition. But they have run aground as a result of the rising costs of the war in Vietnam. Eventually, however, the national party must move more vigorously to rehabilitate the cities. The black poor can hasten that day by exploiting class and racial divisiveness in the cities. For as these divisions are widened, the Democratic coalition is endangered, and national leaders will proffer concessions to shore up their urban base. In sum, what urban blacks cannot get by playing consensus politics within the Democratic coalition they may win by dissensus politics.

Divisive tactics have already paid off. The school boycotts and demonstrations in various Northern cities which mobilized blacks around the cause of integrated education, produced violent hostility among whites. But although they failed to achieve desegregation, the resulting dissensus was probably an important factor in the national Administration's decision to press for enactment of the Primary and Secondary Education Act – a measure which can be understood as an effort to blunt the attack against *de facto* segregation by raising the level of ghetto education. Similarly, although urban renewal stirred bitter protests among the dislocated poor, while drives for open occupancy engendered profound anger among whites, the resulting turmoil was a key force behind the Model Cities legislation – a measure to ease the conditions of blacks within the boundaries of the ghetto, and so avoid arousing the hostility of whites. Those of the middle class who place a high priority on heterogeneous communities may regard programs to improve the ghetto as Pyrrhic victories at best; among the black poor, however, the priorities are somewhat different.

Race and class conflict in the cities, we have said, is being played out in the arena of public services. But because blacks are newcomers, and not well organized, policies have not generally been much modified in response to them. When existing policies blatantly ignore changing constituencies, disruptive tactics can expose them as anachronisms and force new accommodations. Public welfare practices are a prime example of such outmoded adaptations, and a national movement of welfare recipients is now growing whose strategy is to disrupt and expose them. In response to older constituent groups – the white working class which is concerned about taxes, and many in the middle class who suppose that poverty is better solved by "rehabilitating" the poor than by redistributing income – the administrators of public-welfare agencies keep the rolls low and budgets down. They refuse to inform the poor of their eligibility for assistance, erect a tangle of bureaucratic barriers against those who do apply, and simply reject many

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eligible applicants illegally. The public-welfare system distributes its meager benefits to but half of those who are legally eligible.

The welfare receipients movement is disrupting this pattern by mobilizing many of the poor to claim their entitlements under the law. Mounting claims mean higher costs and higher taxes. Predictably, spokesmen for the working classes are already showing alarm and indignation, liberals are troubled; but the masses of the black poor are also becoming aroused. Welfare reforms are to be a major demand of the "poor people's campaign" this summer.

In the short run, the result will be chaos in the welfare program. But that chaos will expose the ways in which the poor have been sacrificed to more powerful groups in the Democratic coalition. To cope with the resulting dissensus, the national Democratic Party will try to lessen welfare costs to localities, while also liberalizing the entire program. Relieving localities of the financial burden would placate the working class and others in the urban coalition, and a more liberal income maintenance system (a federally guaranteed income, perhaps) would be a major concession to the black poor.

Similar dissensual strategies can be employed to force concessions in other areas – for example, in housing, which, for the black poor in the cities is substandard, overcrowded and overpriced. Small-time landlords grub a profit from slum housing by short-cutting on repairs and services, buying "political insurance" against code enforcement with active support of local Democratic clubs. Liberals and "good government" groups, for their part, are satisfied with perennial reforms of the housing codes, to which political leaders acquiesce, knowing that cumbersome procedures of legal redress will do little except to satisfy the reformers. And even when legislation for new construction or rehabilitation is passed, only token funds are appropriated out of deference to other groups.

Housing agencies are thus the managers of a system of collusion; they do not enforce codes because to do so would bankrupt the slumlords and compel government to house the minority poor – a circumstance that would entail either diverting funds from programs serving other groups or raising local taxes. To avoid the ire which such actions would evoke, municipal government uses its enforcement powers gingerly and selectively, content to let the slumlord reap the fury of the ghetto.

These arrangements could be disrupted through massive withholding of rent, with tenants advised to spend the money instead for food and clothing. City governments would then be under great pressure to forestall evictions for fear of provoking widespread violence in the ghetto. Considering the marginal character of the slum market, many owners of deteriorated buildings, unable or unwilling to make the required repairs, would be forced out of business, propelling government into taking over slum housing. The consequent drain on municipal revenues and the conflicts engendered among urban groups would intensify local political conflict. But local conflicts reverberate in the national Democratic Party, generating pressure for federal subsidies for low-income housing in large US cities.

As the foregoing examples suggest, to effectively disrupt the coalition in the cities, something more than the marches, demonstrations and sit-ins of the Southern movement will be required. Segregation in the South was an entrenched symbolic system, and tactics of moral confrontation were sufficient to provoke pervasive electoral discord, particularly since it cost the North little to support the extension of constitutional rights to Southern Negroes. But in the era which Martin Luther King foresaw, blacks will be making economic rather than legal demands, and so challenging major class interests in the city. These interests will not be overcome by protests alone. They will be overcome, for example, by enrolling the poor to bankrupt the welfare system or inciting rent revolts to close down the slum society.

It will be said that dissensual politics may so aggravate the working class that it moves further to the right, or even out of the Democratic coalition altogether. While this danger exists, it must be said that the working class is now being held securely in coalition by policies which work against the black poor. It has opted only for specific and limited economic reforms, and has now become a major impediment to economic advances by the Negro.

It will also be said that disruptive tactics may spur greater violence in the cities, arousing so strong a backlash that politicians can no longer ease conflict by making concessions to different groups in a coalition. Violence *is* a danger, but since the conditions which breed violence already exist, the occasions which provoke it are manifold. To assume the burden for keeping the peace by refraining from disruptive tactics may be to forego the major reforms upon which a more enduring, less volatile peace depends.

A dissensual political strategy is risky for another reason. The poor who generate disruption have little control over the responses to it. Still, the only recourse of an impoverished minority is to create the kinds of crises to which political leaders must respond, hoping that reforms will follow. In Martin Luther King's words, "We are aware that we ride the forces of history and do not totally shape them."

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Reagan and the Respectable Right

by Michael Miles

When Spencer-Roberts and Associates, impresarios of political technology, did a voter analysis on behalf of the Reagan campaign for Governor of California in 1966, they discovered three marketable issues: morality, big government, and Pat Brown. The epitome of the modernizing administrator, Brown was himself a symbol of big government. And big government, abstract and impersonal, ubiquitous yet imperceptible, was the symbol of the incomprehensible: ineluctable and accelerating social change.

For the prosperous middle and working class, especially in Southern California, morality was the key of all of it. The revolt of the blacks in Watts and Hunter's Point – politics-in-the-streets – was for them crime-in-the-streets. The use of drugs by the hippies in Hollywood and Haight-Ashbury was juvenile delinquency. Radical political activity, the "mess at Berkeley," was a breach of the peace, a threat to law and order, incipient anarchy. "Moral decay" was their explanation for these events. Moralism is the *common-sense* theory of social change.

Ronald Reagan is a common-sense thinker. Although he was expressly packaged for the new suburbs of Southern California, he was a uniquely qualified product. The inter-war immigration to California originated in the lower strata of the heartland states of America: Okies and Arkies, Great Plains farm boys, Midwestern small townsmen. Ronald Reagan was born in Tampico, Illinois, the son of a failed, itinerant shoe salesman. The impecunious immigrants to California achieved Grade B success in the war industries (37 percent of all manufacturing) of Southern California. Ronald Reagan left a job as a sportscaster in Iowa to star in Grade B movies in Hollywood.

The people of Rippling Brook Farms, Leisure World, and Green Glades are an odd amalgam of the traditional and the suggestible. They have learned property values from the experience of earning a living, paying for the mortgage on the house, and meeting the payments on the car. The precepts of possessive individualism have been further reinforced by a heritage of fundamentalist, Anglo-Saxon Protestantism. Finally, a comfortable conservatism seems ensured by economic growth and general prosperity. Still, the lower middle class and working class *arrivistes* feel threatened by the uppity blacks and Latins who were provided an opening wedge by California's Rumford Open Housing Act. In circumstances of high occupational, social, and geographical mobility, the suburbanites of Los Angeles, San Diego, and Orange County may feel status-anxious, insecure. Living in single-family homes and commuting by automobile, they have relatively few traditional institutional connections which can provide them with an historically grounded view of the world. They certainly cannot rely on the two-party system. In a fit of Progressivist reform Gov. Hiram Johnson several decades ago established a system of open primaries without party endorsements and eliminated partisan elections on the county level, thus crippling precinct organization. Since the average California family moves every four and a half years, political workers find it next to impossible to keep accurate precinct lists in any case.

The one institution which successfully penetrates the suburbs is television, and Ronald Reagan is an acknowledged master of the imagic art. As a leading Republican in the state has said of him, "he's visceral; he's role-playing; he has a superb political instinct." The same man has spent considerable time "trying to figure out why he comes across the tube the way he does." Antagonists at press conferences and university Regents' meetings testify to the fact that Reagan can be cornered and cut to pieces as far as people present in the room are concerned, and yet the same people can go home and watch the proceedings on the six o'clock news and see Reagan walk away unmarked. In any confrontation before the camera, Reagan plays to the camera not the man. With a bland self-possession, he walks around, under, and through questions in a manner which virtually hypnotizes the passive viewer.

Although Reagan is a consummate TV actor, he is not a political fraud. He is a suburban politician who communicates the message his audience, largely in the South, largely immigrant in origin and parentage, wants to hear. He defends the "taxpayer"—the "citi-

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zen who has no special pressure group to lobby for him. He works and sweats to make ends meet, to pay his bills, and keep his family in clothes and his kids in school. He is the source from whom the blessings of tax-supported programs flow." The image *is* the reality. As a university Regent put it, he is a "small town and mass media guy."

Reagan would do well to rest content with the morality theme, the "umbrella issue," and continue to portray himself, as in the gubernatorial campaign, as the "citizen politician" desiring to clean out the venal politicians and, if possible, to abolish politics. To his eventual undoing, however, he has a social theory, which only some of his constituency would understand or endorse. It is 19th-century economic liberalism, according to which the "free enterprise system" is determined by free competition, the profit motive, and the laws of Adam Smith's market, supplemented by a monetary calculus of merit. If it were not for the federal government which has usurped the rightful functions of the "private sector" and has pursued policies of social planning, deficit spending, and "deliberate and planned inflation," free enterprise would also be a functional 20th-century reality.

Reagan began to elaborate this theme when he went to work for General Electric in 1954 as host of the General Electric Theatre. In earlier years he had been an ADA liberal, but in postwar Hollywood (where Ayn Rand was working as a scriptwriter for Warner Bros.) he was disillusioned when, as president of the Screen Actors' Guild, he encountered jurisdictional disputes with other unions and communist influence in the guild. Making the left-to-right pilgrimage, he supported Eisenhower in 1952 and by 1954 was ready to soft-sell the right-wing ideology which General Electric has long underwritten. He toured company plants and delivered "The Speech" which excoriated communism, big government, and the TVA.

It is anyone's guess how General Electric and GE's Ronnie Reagan could deceive themselves that free enterprise was in their self-interest, enlightened or otherwise. As one of the largest defense contractors in the country, the company depended in large measure on the risk-free, guaranteed profits of government orders. As a major corporate oligopoly, GE operated in a noncompetitive, administered market and was convicted once of price-fixing. As one of corporate capitalism's chief proprietors, the company had a large stake in semi-Keynesian efforts to treat the under-consumptionist problems of the system. In the 1950's General Electric should have been liberal, but it wasn't. In the 60's, it should be supporting a corporate liberal, like Robert F. Kennedy, but as a recent *Fortune* article noted, business opposes Kennedy to a man.

It is this systematic misconception of the corporate economy which explains the vagaries of Reagan's politics. Since he believes that free enterprise is a threatened fact and not a paradise lost, he is not a reactionary, but a hard-line *status quo* conservative, who concedes the existence of social problems but would contract them out to the "private sector." Since he makes no distinction between the competitive and administered corporate sectors of the economy, he sees no contradiction in the interests of the entrepreneurs and the corporate managers, the storekeepers and the financial moguls, much less between the "private sector" and the "independent sector" which is the tax-paying public. Business is business. The men who finance Reagan are new rich entrepreneurs; automobile dealers like Holmes Tuttle, self-made oil men like Henry Salvatori, real estate speculators like Leland Kaiser. The men who vote for him are the newly arrived blue collar workers and middle class. The men who are in a position to benefit most are more likely the executives of Pacific Telephone and Telegraph, Southern Pacific, and General Telephone and the stock brokers of Montgomery Street. The month before Reagan was elected, PT&T was granted a $6 million rate increase by the Public Utilities Commission. Four months and two Reagan appointees to the commission later, PT&T asked for a rate increase worth $181 million, the largest request in the history of state or federal regulation. As part of his "tax reform" program, Reagan has proposed the elimination of the business inventory tax which "forces the owners of small papa-and-mama stores to spend their midnight hours doing bookkeeping for the state government." This is a hidden pay-off to the department stores (the mamas) and the large warehousers (the papas).

In the legislature a Corporate Securities Revision bill has been introduced which would eliminate regulatory restrictions on the sale of "blue skies" stocks. Not to be outdone by the brokerage houses, the law firms on Montgomery Street (San Francisco) and Spring Street (Los Angeles), which run the state bar, are pushing a "judicial merit plan" which would screen gubernatorial appointees to the bench through a commission largely controlled by the bar. With admirable Progressivist rhetoric, Reagan justifies this plan as taking "politics out of the selection of judges."

Reagan is no corporate moderate with connections in Washington. For him, inflation is not a structural result of a wage-price spiral which benefits the participants, unions and corporations, but exploits the consumer. It is a simple consequence of deficit spending by the government. High taxation is not a necessary corollary of high public spending needed to stabilize a capitalist economy. It is a bureaucratic conspiracy against the taxpayer. Upon assuming the governorship, Reagan attempted to apply his theories. In short order, he was compelled to submit a record $5.3 billion

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budget and a record $1 billion tax increase.

That exercise did not demonstrate Reagan's abandonment of his political philosophy, only that he had dreamed less than was on heaven and earth. Two thirds of the budget was determined by previous state law and was outside gubernatorial purview. Reagan inherited a large hidden deficit from the Brown administration and tax increases were necessary to comply with the state constitution which requires a balanced budget. Meanwhile, population and inflation grew apace. The ideal of immobility could be achieved at a treadmill rate of budget growth of eight percent. Reagan has now submitted his second year's budget of $5.7 billion, an increase of seven percent over last year's. In his tenure, Reagan has therefore reduced the rate of budget increase in half, while spending nothing for new programs. Judged as reaction, this could be considered a failure. As an application of the brakes, the burning smell in Sacramento attests to its success.

The governor is quite willing to take on the moderates and liberals if they get in the way. The Regents of the University of California, for example, the princely representatives of the corporate establishment: Bank of America, Hunt Foods, Lockheed, the Los Angeles *Times*, Hearst, etc. They have a proprietary interest in a university which has distinguished itself nationally and which supplies them with engineers, lawyers, and accountants, not to mention agricultural, war, and basic research technicians. They understand that education is a good investment. The Regents and university state administration wanted a $278 million state contribution in Reagan's first year. Reagan proposed to give them $196 million with additional sums from special Regents funds and new tuition fees to amount to a total of $236 million, actually less than the year before, even though the enrollment was up 12 percent. The two parties compromised on a figure of slightly more than $230 million in state funds. The Regents agreed to supply some of their special funds, but deferred consideration of tuition. The results were a university budget of $251.5 million (only slightly above the previous year's), reductions in workload, and the deferment of all new programs.

This year, the Regents and Charles Hitch, successor to Clark Kerr as university president, proposed a budget of $311 million. As Hitch was formerly McNamara's primary cost-benefit analyst in the Defense Department, he presumably could be depended upon to run a taut university. Reagan budgeted $280 million and for the second consecutive year the university will have to defer virtually all new programs and improvements. Corporate interests won't benefit from the elimination of additional funds for agricultural research and for Schools of Administration and Engineering. The Regents will also concede to Reagan, in lieu of a tuition increase of $250, an increase in fees of $150 or so. In this way, liberal Regents hope to maintain the state's tradition of "free public education" although the university's qualification tests effectively exclude minority groups already. The Regents will also cut enrollments rather than accept the dilution of quality required by the Reagan budget.

Less than the darling of the moderates, Reagan is also estranged from the radical right. John G. Schmitz, the Birch Society's state senator, has criticized the governor as a sell-out. Asked at a press conference if he agreed with George Wallace that some people were "holding the cities for ransom," Reagan replied, "I'm never in agreement with George Wallace." Reagan's base is the respectable right, the "right-thinking" people of California, and especially the right-thinking right of the Republican Party. This element is represented in the right-conservative California Republican Assembly and the United Republicans of California, volunteer political organizations which are the counterparts to the party's moderate California Republican League and the Democratic Party's left-liberal California Democratic Council. As evidence of its politics, the CRA recently gave its senatorial primary endorsement to Dr. Max Rafferty, over incumbent Senator Thomas Kuchel.

On ideological grounds, the Republican right no doubt appreciates Reagan's efforts, not wholly successful, to cut Medi-Cal, mental health, and welfare programs. What is surprising is that these efforts were not motivated by ideology, but by Reagan's first priority which is the reduction of government spending. Reagan quite cheerfully admits a government obligation to the poor, if they are beyond the salvage of the private sector. He couches his criticisms of welfare programs in the progressive argument that they are perpetuating poverty rather than ending it. He has introduced legislation which would base welfare allotments on a uniform minimum wage rather than a needs schedule, and would save the state $25 million. However, the proposals make no provision for the fact that minimum wage is calculated on a four-member family basis. Larger families would suffer under the program, and the elimination of a needs schedule required for federal money would jeopardize $300 million in federal aid. The bill will be killed in committee.

Barry Goldwater once said, "My aim is not to pass laws but to repeal them." On the basis of his record, Ronald Reagan's aim is simply not to pass laws. Yet the rhetoric of the "Creative Society" recognizes the social problems of the cities, of race, of pollution. Reagan's administration has actually taken some steps toward pollution control, long-range planning in transportation, and environmental quality control. At the convention of the California Republican Assembly, he warned that if the private sector did not supply jobs

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for minority groups, government would pre-empt the field. The important principle here is that the private sector—conservative businessmen—bestow these jobs upon minority groups and that they in return be properly grateful. Reagan confesses that one of his "most joyous moments" was vetoing federal poverty funds for an organization which was helping to organize migrant workers in unions. "A school for demonstrators," he called it. When California Rural Legal Assistance challenged in the courts the administration's decision to cut 160,000 old people off the Medi-Cal rolls and won its case, Reagan also tried to cut its federal lifeline.

The Reagan administration constantly conjures up the private sector, just as liberal politicians in Washington do under the rubric of "creative federalism." But Reagan's people are unique in the barrenness of their ideas on what a "creative society" does. The administration is not highly respected by state legislators because it does not seem to know how to legislate. Most of the proposals for implementation of the private sector concept have originated in a legislative task force of Republican assemblymen who have the benefit of a formidable assembly research staff developed by Speaker Jesse Unruh, a Democrat. Republican Minority leader Robert Monagan has a self-housing bill which would enable the poor to obtain housing loans in exchange for the contribution of their labor in the construction of the house. Other assemblymen have introduced bills for work incentive programs to welfare clients and for a job development corporation to lend to small businesses. Although these bills draw on the resources of the private sector, they still require financial guarantees from the state in order to attract capital. The Reagan administration is reluctant to underwrite them, although it favors them "in principle."

The one implementation of the Creative Society which the Reagan people have developed on their own is property tax relief. This is in keeping with Reagan's conviction that local governments must be re-invigorated in order to enhance popular participation in the governmental process. Property tax relief also conjures the image of salvation for the homeowner in the suburbs. Unfortunately for the image, the state government can only remit tax money to the county Boards of Supervisors. There is no guarantee they will pass the benefit on to the taxpayer. Those taxpayers who would benefit directly in tax reductions or indirectly in a lower rate of property tax growth are in any case not only homeowners but businesses and utilities. It is the latter who would do most of the "participating" in stronger local government.

The word in Sacramento is that "Reagan doesn't like to govern." He is restless to be off to national power where his Hooverian economic theories could precipitate quick disaster. When a contest between Nixon and Rockefeller seemed to be shaping up, a California Republican leader described the Reagan people as "salivating on the sidelines." Their scenario required that Rockefeller and the favorite son delegations, including Reagan's own huge bloc of California delegates, control enough votes to stop Nixon. Reagan would then sit tight until the Nixon delegates came to him. When Rockefeller withdrew on opening night, there was a note of regret in Reagan's response.

Bill Roberts of Spencer-Roberts has said that Reagan would probably settle for the vice presidental nomination. Another ranking Republican believes that Reagan will be burned beyond recognition if he stays in the gubernatorial chair, and must get out this year before he begins to fade. The Southern California clique of entrepreneurs, who finance Reagan, are nonetheless determined to go for broke. A Reagan headquarters has opened in Miami Beach. A well-heeled organization with $300,000 in television money is working in the Oregon primary, which will be decisive for Reagan. Cliff White, who organized Goldwater's convention campaign, is now a consultant to the Reagan organization. Although he has yet to do well in national polls, Reagan still has a chance if he does well in Oregon.

Reagan is a new kind of Republican winner. In the 1966 gubernatorial election, according to the results of the *California Poll*, he cut deeply into the Democratic Party coalition of yore. In conditions of prosperity and racial conflict, blue collar and low-income, low educational groups voted the cultural issues rather than the economic issues. The question is whether Reagan has discovered a mass base for the Republican right. He had a special appeal for Southern California which may not be marketable elsewhere. His cultural conservatism is the abolition of politics, a transpolitical appeal which can unite disparate and occasionally contradictory interests. Crime-in-the-streets, juvenile delinquency, patriotism, moral decay are the stuff of a homogenized politics uniquely suited to a subliminal appeal in the media. If nationalism is added to moralism, the right has the ingredients for a mass lower class appeal.

Reagan's problem is that he is beginning to bore even his California constituency with his "squeezing, cutting, and trimming." People voted for Reagan because big government was a symbol of their malaise. They would much prefer tokens of participation of which they have little than token budget cuts which don't affect their lives. Reagan faces the political repercussions of income taxes, which he doubled and which will come due April 15, but he actually opposes a withholding tax, which would render the taxes invisible and save him those repercussions. Withholding is a "credit-card approach." He doesn't realize that it's all of a piece.

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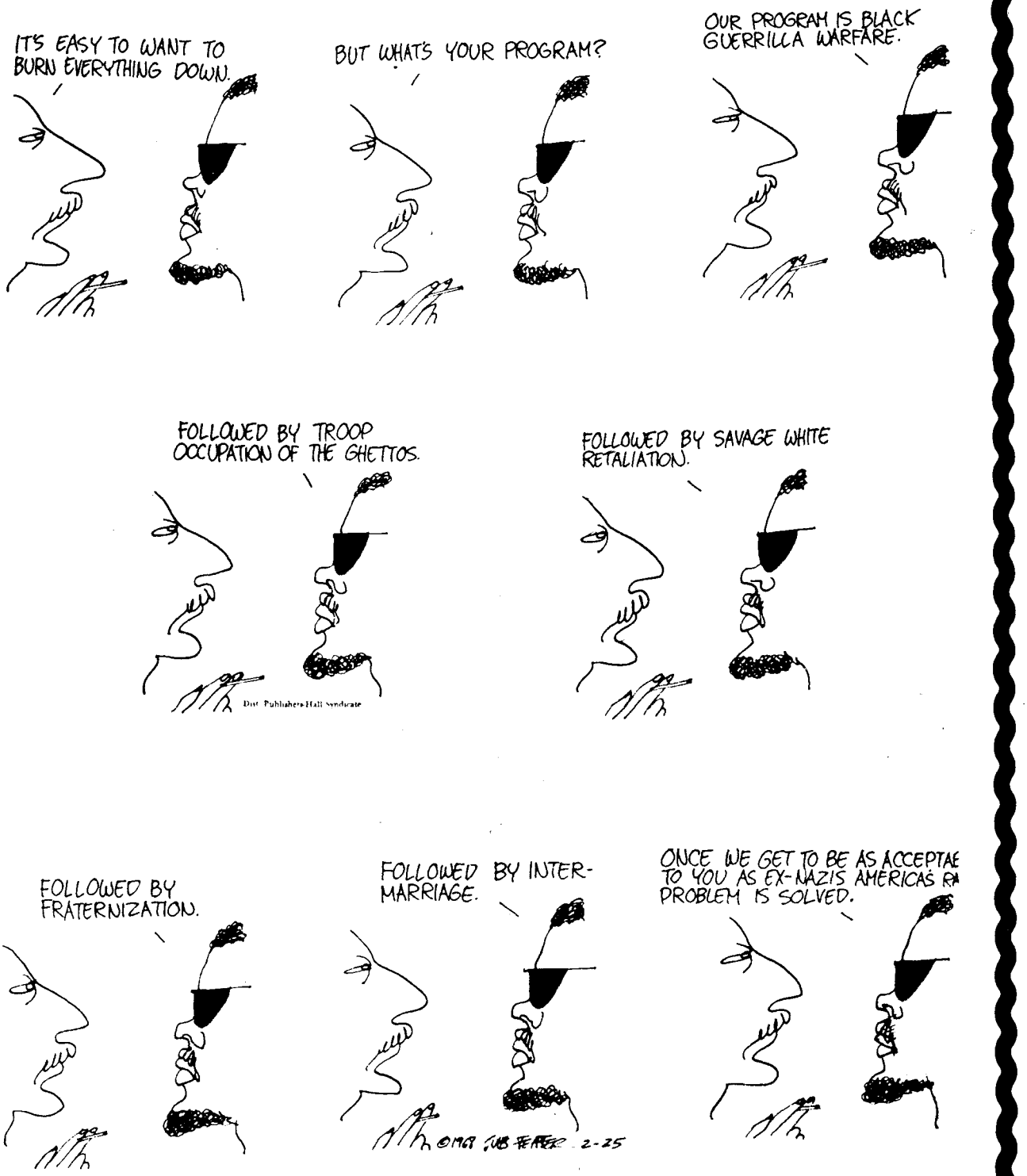

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Stanley Kauffmann on films

Opus 28

Ingmar Bergman's last film, *Persona*, was related to his earlier work thematically and superficially. It dealt with two women, one of whom had a young son, which gave it a similar "orchestration" to *The Silence*. Its seaside setting and its quality of light connected it with *Through a Glass Darkly*. The character of the actress had the same name (Vogler) as the actor in *The Magician*, and the very title *Persona* (mask) complemented the original title of that film (*The Face*).

Hour of the Wolf
(Lopert)

In *Hour of the Wolf* Bergman continues his systems of linkage. Like *Persona*, the new picture is about two people living by the sea, one of whom is mentally ill. Liv Ullmann, who played the sick person in *Persona*, is the healthy person here, and she has the same name (Alma) as the nurse in the last film. Her lover, the sick person, has the same surname (Borg) as the old doctor in *Wild Strawberries*. The name Vogler is again used, for Borg's ex-mistress. There is even an attempt – an afterthought, it seems to me – to carry on the "film-consciousness" of *Persona*: under the credits we hear the chatter on a studio set, then the warning buzzer sounds, the chatter dies, and the film begins. (This element – of film-consciousness – is not used further.) Some of these references to past work seem only a private game; some of them seem intended to bind *Hour of the Wolf* in two ways to all the serious films Bergman has made since *Through a Glass Darkly*. In form and tone, it is a "chamber" film – a term Bergman obviously derives from Strindberg's *Chamber Plays*, which, as Jörn Donner says, "cover short spans of time with few actors and possess something of the character of intimate music." In theme all these chamber films are concerned with mental anguish.

Most of *Hour of the Wolf* is a flashback. It begins seven months after the death of Johan Borg, a painter in early middle age. His pregnant young widow, Alma, comes out of their island house, sits, and talks to us. (She knows Johan's internal experiences through a diary he has left.) Then we see Johan and Alma arrive at this island off the Swedish coast seven months before. He is in a poor mental state, worsens, goes quite mad, shoots Alma, thinks he has killed her, then goes off into the woods and kills himself. Other characters figure in the story, in fact and in fantasy. An impoverished baron lives with his wife and relatives in a castle on the other side of the island. The baron is an admirer of Johan's and has one of his paintings – a portrait of Johan's ex-mistress, Veronica Vogler. Johan and Alma are asked to dinner, and in the course of the evening there is a scene – reminiscent of that between the novelist and his rich host in *La Notte* – in which the painter tries to justify for himself his life in art. He says he is in the grip of a compulsion – art – that is irrelevant to most people in the world. (Something Bergman has said of himself at various times.) Later, there is a long sequence of hallucination in which Johan fancies that he revisits the castle and meets Veronica, whom the baron has invited so that Johan can copulate with her while others watch. This hallucination presumably derives from the fact that the baron owns the portrait of Johan's ex-mistress, the memorial of the artist's passion. It is a deranged comment on an artist's inescapable exposure of innermost privacies.

Some attempt is made to break out of the confines of case history – principally with Alma, who takes Johan's condition as her spiritual responsibility. Near the close she even has a hallucination of her own, as if in an effort to join him. (Another resemblance to *Persona*.) And at the very end she tells us that there must have been something more she could have done to save him. But this strikes us as her compassion, not a truth of the case. The film records the progress of a sickness, and the most we can feel is a hospital-visitor's pity. Much of the time the picture is somewhat clinical and remote because Johan does not represent us.

We are given no reason to believe that any of the things in the world that might drive *us* mad is relevant to Johan's condition. *Persona*, which I think is Bergman's best film and a masterpiece, is about a woman hounded by the horrors – curable and otherwise – that hound many of us. She flees by inner withdrawal (a compromised suicide); and then the film contrasts her withdrawal, which seems starkly rational, with the nurse's irrational health. But we know nothing of Johan's past except his affair with Veronica and the fact that he has a son. There is nothing to persuade us that we are watching anything but the course of a disease. In *Through a Glass Darkly* the girl's madness is bound closely to the theme of spiritual hunger, both in her own agony and in the colors of the characters around her. But Johan, for all we know to the contrary, would have the same disease and would suffer the same way in a religiously secure world.

Willy-nilly, then, Bergman assumes the responsibility of making the *images* of Johan's illness so graphic and moving that they hold us. For the most part they are surprisingly weak – given Bergman's talent and theme – and almost predictable, except that in some of the hallucinations he seems to have used a different film stock for heavier black-and-white contrasts. (As in the scene where Johan murders a boy who is presumably his son.) The distortions, the nightmare choruses, the wild projections – all these are just about what we would expect. Even the work of Sven Nykvist, who has been the cinematographer on all but one of Bergman's films since *The Virgin Spring*, is not as beautifully and softly superreal as it usually is.

But no Bergman picture is barren. He

(Continued on page 45)

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Books and the Arts

Who Gets Ahead?

by Christopher Jencks

If you ask Americans what they think about politics, religion, child rearing, or almost any other subject, northerners will give different answers from southerners, whites different answers from blacks, small towners from suburbanites, blue-collar workers from white-collar, men from women. There is one exception to this rule, however, namely the job market. This otherwise diverse society is held together by a national economy, and almost every group uses the same criteria for judging the desirability of various kinds of work. The higher the average pay and the average level of education of men in an occupation, the higher its prestige with every sort of American. (The major exception to *this* rule is farming, which ranks in the middle of the prestige scale but at the bottom of the economic and educational scales, an inconsistency that has been a continuing source of political ferment during the past century.) The status of various occupations has remained stable over the 40 years since sociologists first investigated the subject.

The American Occupational Structure
by Peter Blau & Otis Dudley Duncan
(Wiley; $14.95)

Under such circumstances the competition for desirable jobs inevitably is fierce, and bitterness among those who have to accept undesirable work is commonplace. These feelings lie at the root of whatever class consciousness there is in America. One way to defuse the revolutionary potential in such feelings might be to reduce the pay, prestige, and power differences among occupations, but America has never seriously attempted this. Instead, it has tried to convince people that their troubles were largely of their own making, and that they could get desirable jobs (or at least their children could) if they worked harder and behaved better. This hope has been embodied in the slogan "equality of opportunity." If realized, it would mean that a child's life chances would depend entirely on his own capabilities and choices, rather than on such "accidents" as whether his parents were rich or poor, white or black, natives of Iowa City or Palermo.

This ideal is inevitably elusive, since individual capability and temperament depend partly on the genes a man inherits. Capability and temperament also depend to a substantial degree on early childhood experience, and so long as there are dramatic inequalities among parents some children will inevitably have the benefit of more favorable environments than others. Yet the dream of equal opportunity persists, inspiring all sorts of idealistic demands for new government programs and new social institutions.

Despite its political importance, however, we have surprising little reliable evidence about the extent to which this ideal is being realized. To what extent does a man's eventual position in the occupational hierarchy depend on his father's position? How much difference does it make if his parents are well educated? If they stay married? If they have a lot of children or only a few? How important is it to be brought up in a big city rather than a small town? In the north rather than in the south? How much of a handicap is it to have Italian-American parents? How important is skin color? If these considerations are not the whole story – and they certainly are not – how important are the individual's own early choices: to stay in school or drop out, to marry a rich girl rather than a poor one, to leave the community he was born in or stay, his choice of his first job? And to what extent are man's eventual jobs determined by factors different from all these, factors completely unrelated to family background and early experience?

A number of social scientists have investigated these questions over the years, but they have never had the resources to study large representative samples of men from all over the country, nor have they been able to draw reliable conclusions about historical trends. Until recently, moreover, their statistical analyses of their data have been relatively primitive. In March, 1962, the Bureau of the Census set out to remedy this situation by collecting information on the family backgrounds of a representative sample of some 20,000 men between the ages of 20 and 65. This data has now been analyzed by Peter Blau, a sociologist at the University of Chicago, and Otis Dudley Duncan, a demographer at the University of Michigan.

While it is not the last word on occupational hierarchy and mobility in America, *The American Occupational Structure* is by far the most impressive book on the subject to date and will certainly become the point of departure for future research. Yet, like most modern quantitative social science it is virtually unreadable. In part this is because the authors have a penchant for Germanic syntax and Latinized diction which makes it easy to forget that they are talking about real phenomena. (They are, however, less culpable in this respect than many academic writers.) A more serious problem is that they present the heart of their argument in a statistical shorthand that will baffle the lay readers. Here again they are less guilty than many of their colleagues, for they explain enough of their method so that a statistical semi-literate such as myself can grasp their meaning. Nevertheless, many readers will have to accept their conclusions on faith.

The authors' most politically important finding is probably that the factors which determine a man's eventual position in the occupational hierarchy

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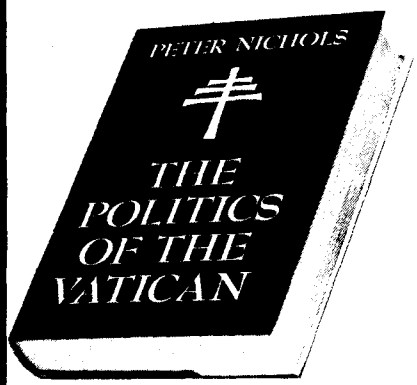

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do not seem to have changed much since World War I. In particular, the relationship between a father's occupational status and his son's has been remarkably stable.

How strong is this relationship? One answer is that a father normally passes along about two-fifths of his occupational advantage to his children. Consider, for example, a group of men near the top of the occupational ladder, at the 84th percentile. Their sons will almost all end up above the 50th percentile, but only a small minority will do as well as their fathers did. The typical son of such a father will fall from the 84th to the 65th percentile. In absolute terms, of course, such a son may not *feel* downwardly mobile, first because expanding GNP means he will almost certainly make more money than his father did, and second because changes in the occupational structure mean that some of tomorrow's 65th percentile jobs will have titles almost as prestigious as today's 84th percentile ones. Nonetheless, while elite sons have a considerable advantage in competing for top positions, the majority of these positions go to young men moving up from below, simply because there are so many more of these youths.

If we turn to the bottom of the occupational hierarchy we find the same pattern of mobility, only inverted. If we look at fathers whose jobs put them at the 16th percentile, for example, we find that their sons typically move up to the 35th percentile. The sons, in other words, inherit only two-fifths of their fathers' disadvantage vis-à-vis the average American. As with the well-to-do, this picture is complicated by the fact that the overall standard of living is improving and low-status, unskilled jobs are gradually being eliminated. The men who end up in poverty are therefore those who have stood still while others born in similar circumstances moved ahead. The great majority of these men are downwardly mobile in *relative* terms, even though in *absolute* terms they often have the same kinds of jobs and the same income as their fathers. Much writing about the cycle of poverty seems to ignore this.

There is another way of looking at the same phenomenon. Suppose we divide the multitudinous factors which help determine a man's position in the occupational hierarchy into two sets, one associated with family background and one completely independent of it. Although Blau and Duncan don't analyze their data in precisely this way, it is clear that family factors account for less than a quarter of the variation in man's eventual occupational success, while non-familial factors account for more than three-quarters.

What aspects of family background are especially important? The father's occupational status is by far the best single predictor of his son's status. The size of the community a son grows up in has some additional effect, with big city boys doing better than those from small towns or farms. Indeed, the community a boy grows up in has more effect on his later success than the community he chooses to live in – a strange finding which seems to imply that geographic inequalities bear more heavily on the young than on adults. Coming from a broken home is a slight disadvantage, but not nearly as great as the disadvantage of having numerous brothers and sisters. If you must have them, however, older ones do less harm than younger. (A boy with younger brothers and sisters is apparently under a certain amount of pressure to drop out of school, get a job, and help support them, thus hurting his later career chances. A boy with older brothers and sisters, on the other hand, may get some help from them, though it is seldom enough to offset the fact that older siblings also compete for parents' financial and emotional support.) Being born in the south is a disadvantage, but largely because the typical southerner comes from a worse educated and lower status home than the typical northerner. Having immigrant parents is *not* a significant disadvantage, or at least it wasn't in the post-World War I years covered by this survey. Indeed, men with immigrant parents did slightly *better* than men whose parents were born in America, perhaps partly because they were concentrated in big cities, rather than like Wasps, in small towns and farms.

These aspects of family background exercise most of their effect indirectly,

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by influencing a child's character and competence, rather than having a direct effect on the careers of otherwise identical men. More than half the advantage of having a successful father, for example, can be measured in the amount of "extra" education an advantaged son gets. This means that while most upper-middle-class children get college degrees, the career prospects of those who merely finish high school are only marginally better than those of other high school graduates. Conversely, a child whose father is an unskilled laborer seldom gets as much education as the average boy from middling circumstances, but if he *does* finish high school he has overcome more than half the disadvantage normally associated with his origins. Other family background characteristics, such as father's education, family size and structure, and geographic roots have even less independent influence on career chances. They affect a man's educational attainment, but they do not do much beyond that.

The principal exceptions to almost all the foregoing rules are Negroes. Blau and Duncan demonstrate quite forcefully that the consequences of being black are entirely without parallel in American life. There are, to be sure, many whites whose circumstances are as bad as or worse than those of the typical Negro. But their disadvantages, unlike those of similarly situated Negroes, do not seem to be cumulative. A white boy from a large broken home in the backwoods of Kentucky, for example, has less chance of getting a college degree than does an only child from New York City. But if he *does* get such a degree, its occupational value to him will be as great as it is to the New Yorker. This does not mean his career prospects will be quite equal to the New Yorker's, it means that they will have been *improved* as much by getting a degree as the New Yorker's were. This is *not* true for Negroes. A Negro whose father is, let us say, a carpenter with a high school diploma, has less chance of going to college than a white youth from a similar background. If he does finish college, however, he still has less chance of getting a desirable first job – or he did from 1914 to 1962. And if he got the same first job as a white, his subsequent career prospects were still

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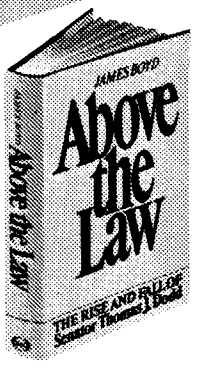

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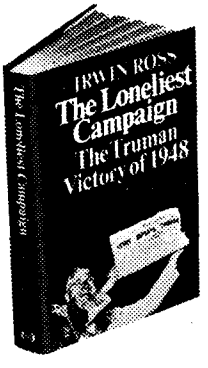

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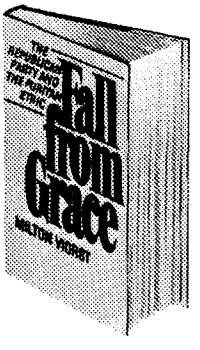

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worse. What this suggests is that the return from any given amount of effort is lower for Negroes than whites. Knowing this, many Negroes *make* less effort. When combined with the initial handicaps of poverty, ignorance, family disorganization, and so forth, this reduction of effort creates a vicious circle. The only other group that finds itself in a somewhat similar situation is women, and they are conspicuously missing from this survey (and from almost all previous studies of social mobility). Blau and Duncan's data make clear that white immigrants, including those from Southern Europe, have not been caught in any such vicious circle, at least since World War I.

When all is said and done, however, family background, and particularly the socio-economic status of a man's father, seems to play a rather modest role in determining life chances. This may seem somewhat surprising, especially to those on the Left. Blau and Duncan point out, however, that the correlation between fathers' and sons' occupational statuses is about the same as their correlations for many other traits: head size, height, weight, IQ score, and educational attainment, to name a few. This recurrent pattern can be generalized into what I will call Jencks' First Law of Human Relationships. The "law" states that *no* characteristic of a parent will *ever* explain more than a quarter of the variation in this same characteristic among the parent's children. To put it another way, fathers cannot usually pass along to their children more than half their advantage or disadvantage over the general population.

If ancestry accounts for only a quarter of the variation in men's life chances, what accounts for the rest? Blau and Duncan examine a number of factors which, while somewhat related to family background, also exercise considerable independent influence. The most important is schooling. A survey of this kind could not collect reliable information on the quality or character of schooling, but it seems reasonable to assume that quality is closely related to quantity. The number of years of school a man finishes accounts for twice as much of the variation in his career prospects as does his father's occupational status. We cannot tell whether this is a causal relationship. It could be, for example, that education merely *looks* important, because clever men stay in school longer than dull ones and also get better jobs.

Blau and Duncan do, however, resolve another question which has received a good deal of attention over the years. Defenders of public schools have long argued that they are a great instrument for equalizing opportunity, since they treat all children more or less alike and sort them out according to individual ability, without regard to ancestry. Critics have denied this claim, arguing that the schools are so dominated by middle-class values and place such undue emphasis on middle-class abilities that poor children have virtually no chance of success. As a result, the critics have argued, the real effect of the public school is to legitimate established privileges and perpetuate the status quo. Blau and Duncan show that there is some truth in both these views, but far more in the first. Fathers' socio-economic positions account for only a sixth of the variation in the number of years of school sons complete. If we take account of other variables which indicate something about the intellectual climate and emphasis on schooling in a home, we can explain another fifth of the variation. This leaves more than sixty percent of the variation in men's school attainment completely unaccounted for by *any* background characteristic. It therefore seems safe to say that the primary effect of universal schooling is to undermine the privileges rather than to perpetuate them. (Schooling does, of course, seek to perpetuate the habits and values on which established privilege is founded, but that is an entirely different matter.) Blau and Duncan also find, however, that despite enormous increases in the absolute number of young people attending high school and college since 1914, the relative advantage of the well-to-do has not diminished at all. If anything, it has increased very slightly.

The data assembled in this book also cast doubt on another commonplace assumption, namely that education plays a larger role in determining a young man's career prospects today than in the past. Blau and Duncan report such a trend, but it is so small and so slow as to be almost inconsequential. Other Census studies of the relationship between education and income have also failed to turn up significant tightening of the links between schooling and careers, at least since 1940 when the first reliable data was collected.

Apart from education, the best predictor of eventual occupational status is the first job. Here again, however, the surprising thing is that the status of a man's first job only accounts for about a quarter of the variation in his eventual status. Those who have worried that it is becoming harder for talented young men to work their way up through the ranks without academic credentials should also take heart, for the relationship between first and later job status seems about as stable as the other relationships investigated.

The authors report on what demographers call assortative mating, with particular emphasis on homogamy (the tendency of like to marry like). They found a relatively modest correlation between the family backgrounds of husbands and wives – less, for ex-

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ample, than that between fathers and sons. When they looked at the *educational* attainments of husbands and wives, on the other hand, they found relatively high correlations – higher than between any two of the other variables they studied. They also found that men who "marry below themselves" tend to have worse career prospects than one would otherwise expect, while men who make an especially good match from a socio-economic viewpoint have a better chance for a good job than one would otherwise expect. Whether this is a primarily causal relationship we do not know. Obviously some people do well by marrying the boss' daughter. But equally obviously a woman can tell more about a man than a demographer can, and high status women may latch onto disproportionate numbers of men without rich fathers or college degrees who nonetheless have good career prospects. Conversely, ambitious men may tend to make good matches for the same social and psychological reasons that they later get good jobs, even though the former may be of limited value in pursuing the latter.

After taking all this information into account, half the variation in men's career patterns remains entirely unexplained. This is not unexpected, for a Census survey like this can only gather indirect evidence about men's intelligence, personality, values, and other critical factors. Yet even when social scientists collect additional information of this kind, they can seldom explain more than about half the variation in individual behavior. College admissions officers, for example, often use extremely refined techniques for predicting college grades, yet their predictors can seldom account for more than half the variation in such grades.

This recurrent pattern suggests another rule of thumb, Jencks' Second Law of Human Relationships: social scientists cannot learn more than half of what there is to know about a man, and that they therefore cannot account for more than half the variation in *any* individual characteristic or pattern of behavior. This law has a corollary: clever social scientists conceal their ignorance by studying groups rather than individuals, since it is much safer to make general predictions about groups than specific ones about individuals. Thus while we cannot accurately estimate an individual's occupational status simply by knowing his father's status, we can estimate the *average* status of a large group quite well from the average status of their fathers.

This brief summary hardly does justice to Blau and Duncan's 520-page report. It does suggest a number of general conclusions. First, the American occupational structure is much more open than radical critics usually assume. Second, the reason the radicals are easily misled is that they tend to see the widely (and rightly) publicized problems of black Americans as an extreme manifestation of a general American pattern, whereas these problems are in most respects unique. Third, despite enormous technological and historical changes over the past half century, the amount and nature of social mobility in America has remained remarkably constant. Nor is there any reason to expect significant changes in the foreseeable future. Fourth, the only way to increase the rate of mobility significantly above its present level would be to reduce the influence of family background. This would probably require the elimination of the family itself, perhaps in favor of collective child-rearing along the lines of the Israeli kibbutz. Fifth, since the demise of the family does not seem imminent, reformers probably ought to concentrate on issues other than the mobility rate. They might, for example, turn their attention to reducing the amount of inequality built into the occupational structure, instead of trying to increase vertical movement through that structure. They might, in other words, try to *abolish* failure instead of simply trying to make sure that every group got its fair share.

Notes on Contributors

Christopher Jencks *has a Guggenheim grant this year to study the effects of education on American and British social structure.* Lionel Tiger *is author of* Men in Groups, *to be published by Random House.* Clarence Brown *is professor of Slavic Languages and Literature at Princeton University.* John Ashbery *is a poet and an editor of* Art News.

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Baboon Power

by Lionel Tiger

A quantitative and qualitative revolution is underway in the study of primates, and this has provocative significance both for students of the world of nature and for anyone committed to understanding and changing human social arrangements. At the heart of the matter is the traditional antipathy of liberals to claims that human "nature" is relatively constant and that social patterns result less from free will and reasoned decision than from broadly coercive biological factors, rooted in the genetic codes. But to refuse to accept the possibility that there may be major constraints which can circumscribe efforts at social reformation is to ignore much of the new data about primates. In a contemporary version of the Victorian melodrama of Apes and Angels, primates once again figure in a controversy concerning the force of biology and the scope of human choice.

Social Communication Among Primates
Edited by Stuart A. Altmann
(Chicago; $15.00)
Primate Ethology
Edited by Desmond Morris
(Aldine; $10.75)
The Naked Ape
by Desmond Morris
(McGraw-Hill; $5.95)
A Handbook of Living Primates
by J. R. and P. H. Napier
(Academic Press; $21.50)

It is, of course, all very important. Social scientists have provided policy makers with an enormous range of data, opinion, and theory. But these have been gathered in a basically non-biological context; if we are to use these findings more confidently in establishing social policy, it is sensible to learn how and whether knowledge about biological processes affects the completeness, certainty, and centrality of what we think we know about our behavior.

The great success of Robert Ardrey's books, of Konrad Lorenz's *On Aggression*, and more recently of Desmond Morris' *The Naked Ape*, suggests that popular accounts of biosociological research and speculation can be greatly titillating. But before this kind of writing becomes so seductive that (as with psychoanalysis and psychiatry in America) life begins to imitate explanation, we must get the facts straight, or try to.

Primatology helps. Its first lesson is that it is scientifically hazardous to make generalizations even about simple primates' behavior, and its second is that in a real sense primates have "culture." Primate groups living in different habitats – or even similar ones – will develop varying social structures and patterns, founded on learning and tradition. Primates are not automata acting out genetic programs without reference to natural and social circumstances, but intensely social creatures whose societies are sophisticated networks marked by elaborate systems of noisy and silent communication and stabilized by strong emotional relationships. So far as we know they have no symbolic culture, no explicit way of deciding on the forms they wish their communities to adopt. Nonetheless, enough rough similarities exist between some human patterns and some primate ones for us to ask the question: do primates have more culture than we assume? or, alternately, do humans respond to non-cultural forces more than we think?

Now certain patterns such as male dominance, male bonding, and maternal determination of offsprings' social status occur in many primate and human groups. Perhaps this offers a logical basis (though not proof or even evidence) for the possibility that similar genetic levers underlie similar social outcomes in both primates and humans. Mainly in this context contemporary primatology helps the social scientists: in defining the parameters of biological influence on man's behavior, in suggesting the richness and

Crop-Dusting

The mice rot in their tunnels in a field
Where phantom harvesters cut phantom grain.
A poisoned acre grows a poisoned yield.

Here skinny children stretch their hands in vain.
Their swollen bodies hurt, and are not healed.
A phantom blade has harvested their grain.

Night after night I see this land annealed
By draughts of fire and death that fall like rain.
One poisoned acre poisons all the field.

These are my crops. We harrow my domain.
The one who pays counts all for which he's billed.
A phantom harvester stacks phantom grain.

To own such wealth as this my heart I've steeled
And all but stilled the tumult in my brain.
My poisoned acre grows a poisoned yield.

Unable to be dispossessed by Cain,
In his accounts my civil tithes are sealed.
And how renounce the poisoning of this field,
Or be forgiven the reaping of its grain?

DANIEL HOFFMAN

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variety of the data to be taken into account, and in tracing the links Man retains to the natural biological order. Thus for social scientists like myself, primatology is a complex adventure, often a surprisingly moving, even poetic, part of the process of answering those questions about human beings which radiate from the major question: why?

Three of the four books under review are important scientific works, representing the best in current primate study. *A Handbook of Living Primates* by Napier and Napier is, quite simply, a triumph. The Napiers have assembled all the available data about primates and presented it with both great detail and great economy, beginning with their descriptions of each of the *genera* with respect to geographical range, ecology, morphology, weights and dimensions, internal characters, genetic biology, behavior, reproduction and development, and performance in captivity. In addition to this the book includes some cross-*genera* analysis – on the cerebral cortex, the jaw, diet, the famed opposable thumb, growth rates – all discussed with effortless authority and lucidity, as well as material on the habitats of primates, on their limbs and locomotion, and, finally, a cogent partial scheme for behavioral classification to augment the more traditional morphological kind. Besides all this splendid scientific stuff, the book contains the best group of photographs of primates I've seen in any comparable publication. These are photographs of dignity; the animals have been approached respectfully and on their own terms, not ours, and their strength *qua* beings emerges directly. Surely Eric Kirkland (who contributes a number of photos) is the Karsh of primate portraiture.

The two collections of research reports and analysis of primate social behavior edited by Stuart Altman and Desmond Morris represent a vast amount of work. One of the underlying reasons for the excitement and success of recent primatology is that research has been carried on in animals' native habitats, rather than in zoos and laboratories only. Seeing primates "where they live" has made scientists, like these men, increasingly sensitive to the nuances of social behavior and to the evolutionary implications of patterns of living. And while we must be chary of the temptation to apply interpretations of primates to humans, what we can learn about ways of understanding living systems is considerable. Perhaps the analogy is with America's discovery; at the time this was useful information for only a few. But as an idea in the European world review it was of wide importance. Perhaps the same result will emerge from the primate studies reported here, and those to follow: that we will see ourselves from yet another perspective.

The reports on political structure, especially among the terrestrial primates (humans share – or did for a long time – many functional evolutionary problems with them) should be of great interest to political sociologists. One of the outstanding features of the primate *genera* for instance, is the importance of male dominance for group cohesion. Not only do size and reproductive role derive from gender, but animals' political status and pattern as well. There are evolutionary reasons for this which can be examined and supported. Have we adequately examined human society along these lines? After years of female suffrage, for example, how many women have in fact joined major dominance structures of the whole community? Why the discontinuity between wish and deed, between the ideal of female equality and the fact?

And what about churches, armies, secret societies, unisexual sports, – the range of manly arts – do these reflect an immutable propensity of the human species? Dare we ask the question: are males and females different not only in reproductive role but in the extent to which they can interchangeably perform any social role? The conventional reply is that up to now there have been very different social expectations for males and females even though we tend to educate them in much the same way. Both males and females in North America are formally committed to the idea of sexual equality. That this has not substantially come about may be due to the intransigence of sexual conservatives and the weight of tradition. But it may also mean that males and females *are* different in primative ways that we haven't openly or clearly stated or permitted ourselves to believe.

Should this be so, only genuinely radical political action will bring about equality for women, a kind of action which it is never prudent to await with high hopes. If the primatologists' data about sexual differences in sociopolitical participation are to guide the study of human characteristics, we must be far more open to the possibility of biological or "animal" control of the infra-structure of our social arrangements. We must learn about the real facts of human mutability and the relationship between genetic program and cultural expression. To know the biological constants, which is to say the non-cultural ones, sharpens our appreciation precisely of cultural difference. Thus a new Fabianism might involve research on these constants – biologically grounded research as a preliminary ground for conscious attempts at social change.

An example of such research is the

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primatological data in these books on the effects of maternal status on child-rearing. In play, in expressive movement, even in self-consciousness (if we can apply that concept to primates) it is clear that maternal confidence and status are crucial in the formation of attitudes in the young which lead to high or low status in adult life. Very early experience is fundamental in primates for the establishment of what later become *political* attitudes. Does this mean that political equality can only be achieved by making all mothers equal? or by taking children away from their mothers? Does the hand that rocks the cradle not rock the boat? If an early sense of worth and dominance is crucial for the development of primate careers does this not affirm how brutally difficult is the problem of achieving human equality – of opportunity, let alone of experience? In any event, since we *are* primates, the pervasive concern with dominance among the higher apes suggests that it may be profitable to look once again into the relationship between biological reality and ideological theory. The point would be not to justify the status quo on the basis of implacable evolutionary pressure, but to understand the complex and biologically revolutionary nature of what egalitarians try to do.

Altmann's and Morris' books provide a fine set of reports and elaborations on the problems of understanding social systems of primates, with some tentative efforts to extend the analysis to the human social system. With the exception of Nicholas Blurton-Jones' painstaking ethological study (in the Morris book) of young children's play, these extensions are suggestive, but by no means definitive. *The Naked Ape* is a good deal less than definitive. Everyone knows that the Ape has no clothes, but he has many costumes. Perhaps for strategic reasons Morris has chosen largely to ignore the wealth of cultural data we possess about man in favor of theories from animal study. This is too bad, because his structure of interpretation, which is a useful one, is badly supported by the quality and reliability of his materials. And the hopelessly elastic way in which he does his footnoting makes it difficult to find out just how he reaches his conclusions.

We needn't be irate. *The Naked Ape* may be an unsatisfying essay, but Morris' other, more serious work, is, along with the Napier and Altmann books, an important contribution to our knowledge. Earth is our only garden of eden. These three impressive books afford us insight into and enjoyment of some of our fellow-creatures and, perhaps more significantly, a gain in wit, ambition, and affection for the ramshackle experience of our own existence.

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Russia's Argumentative Decade

by Clarence Brown

The Extraordinary Decade. Literary Memoirs
by P. V. Annenkov
edited by Arthur P. Mendel
translated by Irwin R. Titunik
(Michigan; $8.50)
The Letters of Nikolai Gogol
selected and edited by Carl R. Proffer
translated by Carl R. Proffer
in collaboration with Vera Krivoshein
(Michigan; $8.00)

Pavel Annenkov's "extraordinary" ten years ran from 1838 to 1848, and the adjective is apt. Vissarion Belinsky, surely the greatest Russian critic on the basis of his prescience alone, began his career in the early thirties and died in 1848. Alexander Pushkin had been shot to death in a duel the year before the decade opened, and Lermontov's absurdly brief career flashed to a close (by the same means) near the beginning of it, in 1841. When Nikolai Gogol, in Paris, got the news of Pushkin's death a couple of months after the event he felt that his own life was over, that there was no longer anyone to write for, and he set off for Italy with his usual aim: to jolt his creative powers by shifting the scenery. For months afterward his personal loss crops up in heart-rending phrases. Gogol struck other people, meanwhile, as being in an unaccustomed state of good health and spirits – a useful reminder of how far one can credit the letters of that most secretive and deceptive of Russian writers.

During Annenkov's decade Gogol was a haunting absence in Russia, for he spent practically the entire time abroad, mostly in Rome. As a consequence of some nervous crisis, still very imperfectly understood, that befell him around 1840 and scared him to death, Gogol had entered upon the last stage of his career, God-haunted and gloomy, with his talent beginning to seep away as the moralism, so abundantly reflected in his letters, became more and more distended. In 1847 he published a work called *Selected Passages from a Correspondence with Friends*. Only some of this is actually from his correspondence. Most of it is concocted – an embarrassing and tedious call for the kind of moral rearmament that could be afforded, in Gogol's view, by official Russian Christianity, for meek acceptance of the political aims of the autocracy, and, in general, for making the slave-based society work as God had manifestly meant it to.

Belinsky, attended by Turgenev and Annenkov, lay dying that same year in Salzbrunn but was sufficiently stung by Gogol's book to summon the last of his brilliant invective for what has become one of the pivots of Russian intellectual history, his *Letter to Gogol:* "Proponent of the knout, apostle of ignorance, champion of obscurantism and Stygian darkness, panegyrist of

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Tartar morals – what are you about! Look beneath your feet – you are standing on the brink of an abyss! . . . That you base such teaching on the Orthodox Church I can understand . . . but why have you mixed Christ up in it? What have you found in common between Him and any church, least of all the Orthodox Church?" But if Gogol was at the abyss, so was all Russia. For reading Belinsky's letter to some socialist friends, Fedor Dostoevsky was shipped off to Siberia for the nine years that largely made him over as man and artist. In January 1848, Gogol left on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, where he hoped to be cleansed of the pride (prompted by his usual scapegoat, the Devil) that he said had produced *Selected Passages*. Gogol's work and Belinsky's outraged response can be taken as no less a culmination of the decade on the intellectual plane than were the European revolutionary upheavals of 1848 on the political.

Stirring times, outsized talents and personalities, the Russian gusto for ideas and socio-spiritual turmoil – these form the subject of Annenkov's wonderful book, now turned into English for the first time. One does not read him for his style, which was not so messy as Belinsky's but still ungainly enough – qualities rendered with proper faithfulness by Irwin Titunik's good translation – but for his balanced, sympathetic, and magnanimous description of his friends and their important ideas. The ideal memoirist for the galvanic debates of the Russian 1840s should be a man whose own features and opinions do not obtrude, and Annenkov's do not. There is about him, world traveler that he was, something vaguely English in his general "lowness of tone," a phrase by which James meant, of course, to *compliment* Turgenev. The latter, along with certain others of his friends, are said to have regarded Annenkov as wishy-washy. I do not think the charge substantiated by the book but am, in any case, glad that he was not more committed to one competing view or the other. He had the "fair play" mentality and, along with it, considerable psychological acumen. He could not condemn men whose human motivations he intimately understood, whatever he might think of their conclusions.

Belinsky occupies his place in the Soviet pantheon chiefly for having enunciated with his usual fervor the doctrine that literature is mostly valuable as an instrument of social justice. When he was writing these memoirs Annenkov himself held a far more purely aesthetic view of art. That this in no way lessened his warm sympathy for Belinsky is a tribute to his best quality and to the best quality of that part of the Russian intelligentsia which he represents: the selfless, objective, and generous involvement with ideas. As a result, we have a book filled with one of the most divisive conflicts in Russian history – whether Russia's future lay in Western European socialism or in the native Slavic tradition (the so-called Westerners versus the Slavophils) – but it is all presided over by a compassionate and humane spirit.

Annenkov's memoirs, like all the greatest productions of Russian literature, as Tolstoy insisted, cannot be fitted into European categories. They

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verge upon the novelistic, common enough in memoirs, but the novel as Dostoevsky conceived it – saturated in ideas that compete with the human characters who produce them. Notwithstanding Annenkov's lack of partisanship, his book is preponderantly a biography of ideas rather than of men. The burgeonings of this and that philosophy assume sculptural shape. The hard circumstances of actual life – Belinsky's apartment, his method of devouring a book while spewing forth his notes upon it, the details of his family and his illness – these rarely enter his pages and then as though Annenkov had grudgingly to acknowledge from time to time the animal basis of pure speculation.

We are grateful nevertheless for the occasional genre picture. There is the country estate of Sokolovo. "In all likelihood," he writes, "Sokolovo never had before or has since presented so astounding a scene of noise and commotion as it did in the summer of 1845." On this intensely intellectual house party, Herzen, Granovsky, and the others, all passionately cantankerous Russian visionaries, stroll through forest and park and along riverbank, endlessly garrulous and as careless of their surroundings as of the rest of the real world with its vexing inhospitality to theory.

They turn the real world into theory. "Peasants – both men and women – were harvesting the fields in dress that was almost rudimentary, and this gave occasion for someone to remark that, of all women, the Russian woman was the only one who felt no embarrassment in front of anyone and in front of whom no one had any cause to feel embarrassed." The remark is *national* in character, and it falls like a thunderclap across the group of strollers. "With that," writes Annenkov, "the argument began." This is a book with which one can fall in love, for however lightly one may be inclined to treat the proposition about the unembarrassable Russian woman, one can only look enviously at the true intellectual passion that it summoned up in those who disputed it.

Gogol's editor and translator, Carl R. Proffer, is not of the mild Annenkov persuasion. He has taken as his model a quite different Russian, Vladimir Nabokov. Since Proffer is a student both of Nabokov and of Gogol, one of Nabokov's greatest subjects, this is hardly surprising.

One of the consequences of assuming the manner of Nabokov is the obligation of explicit partisanship. Thus Proffer conveys an almost personal outrage at Belinsky's "vicious attacks" on Gogol, and he finds words of defense for the *Selected Passages*, which, he rightly notes, are little studied and generally condemned by hearsay. This is welcome, for the Gogol of the last wretched years stands in evident need of all the friends he can get. It seems worth noting, meanwhile, that Nabokov himself has called Belinsky's letter to Gogol a "noble document." Partisanship can thus lead one in either direction, so long as it leads one *far*.

Annenkov is concerned with a single decade crowded with men from whose concerns Gogol was by nature essentially estranged. Proffer gives us a judicious selection of letters from the entire creative lifetime of one of Russia's most enigmatic geniuses. These letters, well translated and provided with an excellent introduction and a very readable commentary, certainly bear out one of the editor's contentions, namely, that the hyperethical sermonizing of the later years was there *in nuce* all along. With equal sympathy for reader and subject, Proffer gently pierces the intricate camouflage behind which Gogol screened his misery.

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ART

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New York

This has been a "quiet" season; foreign visitors have expressed surprise mingled with a relief at how 1966 everything in New York looks. But unless we abandon art for theatre or long-distance phone calls (something called "telephone art" is being mooted in Chicago), anything new will mean a retreat from the ultimate simplicity of Don Judd, who recently showed at the Whitney here. Yet how can this be done without resurrecting the "horrors" of Abstract Expressionism? The Castelli Gallery has been pondering this question. First there was the show of Bruce Nauman, a California "Funk" artist whose work is determined not to look like anything. There were things that dangled, neon tubing, intentionally unfunny jokes, serious platitudes. Then there was Frank Stella's beautiful show, baroque in comparison to his early austerity and even to the asymmetry of last year. It remained for Jasper Johns and now Ron Davis to elaborate a face-saving way out of the current geometrical bottleneck (this mixed metaphor is offered as an example of critical Funk).

Johns has been a dominant figure for a decade, but has anyone really thought much about him lately? It is always hard to distinguish something really new, especially when its creator is a recognized artist. And Johns has never cared much about pleasing or disconcerting his admirers. He has gone his rather leisurely way, sometimes turning out a bumper crop of flags, to the delight of those who collect them; sometimes (as in his 1966 show and now) producing work whose calculated "no look" was bound to throw off those who were proud of having assimilated the flags.

Johns knows how to buttonhole the viewer. One may puzzle over his pictures, but one does not escape them. What is there to see? Three of them were called *Screen Pieces*, carelessly daubed over in "Jasper Johns grey," a color that may be as significant for the 60's as Lucky Strike green was for the 30's. Each panel was bisected by a silk-

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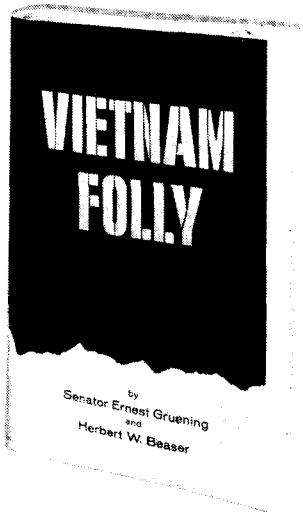

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screen reproduction of a string from which spoon and fork hung down, they were grey too and almost impossible to see in the intense grey of the canvas. A vertical message, "Fork should be 7 inches long," was, I gather, an instruction to the printer which got immortalized in the screening process. The rest of the show consisted of three large horizontal pictures. *Harlem Light* seemed to have come about because someone had accidentally placed some freshly-painted storm-windows on a piece of canvas. Later Johns had doodled a bit, filling in some of the panes with a dead peach color, daubing in places, resolving to be neat in others, tentatively placing his hand against the fresh paint. The other two pieces were more complicated. More panels, ghosts of window frames, paint-sample rainbows, neatness vs. sloppiness. There was also a new element – panels of mock flagstones suggesting rumpus-room linoleum.

One of the few people I spoke to who shared my enthusiasm, a painter, said that Johns reminded him of Anthony Caro. Johns builds away from the edge of the canvas the way Caro builds up from the ground, from something basic and primitive toward something illusory, and in doing so manages to pass through all kinds of being that can happen in painting or sculpture.

John's show came at a significant moment. I am sure he has no interest in looking for solutions to the present avant-garde slowdown but was just painting away as usual. But it seems likely that the show of Ron Davis at the Castelli was intended as a foretaste of the 70's. There is a cold messiness to it, but also a lukewarm orderliness. It is not going to be anything you can pin down, at least not for a while – not even Funk.

Davis' technique, as far as one can tell, is to paint on a sheet of plastic which is then covered with more plastic; the paint, sandwiched in between, has the milky look of painted glass panels in Victorian pier-glasses. The one motif in this show is a shape rather like a ring-mould with the center filled in, and painted with motley stripes so that it suggests a hat in an Uccello. The colors are mostly dull and applied with minor variations in technique.

In 1906 Gertrude Stein wrote apropos

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of interior decoration in *The Making of Americans:*

> ". . . This was all twenty years ago before the passion for the simple line and toned green burlap on the wall and wooden panelling all classic and severe. But the moral force was making then, and now, in art, all for the simple line, though then it had not come to be, as alas now it is, that natural sense for gilding and all kinds of paint and complicated decoration in design all must be suppressed and thrust away, and so take from us the last small hope that something real might spring from crudity and luxury in ornament."

This "moral force" has been with us at least since the days of Hester Prynne. In the recent climate of painting, a single drip on a canvas has been taken as a sign of white-hot passion and therefore to be expunged at all costs. Painters as austere as Brice Marden and Jules Olitski have been murmured at for leaving an infinitesimal amount of drip or impasto at the edge of their canvases, and a girl I know who is a hard-edge painter but doesn't particularly think of herself as one, was depressed at being complimented on "the sharpest edges in New York." It is good to see a brand-new painter like Ron Davis ignoring today's Manichaeanism to do his "own thing."

Don Judd's Whitney show was one of the pleasant surprises of the season. I had remembered the work in his last show as faintly malevolent. Perhaps this was due to the curious atmosphere of the front room at Castelli, a former Edith Wharton-type living room with its windows blocked off, consecrated now to the Future. Maybe, on the other hand, the installation at the Whitney was a little too gorgeous and airy – the fun of emerging into what at first glance suggested a martian Disneyland did not, on further inspection, have much to do with the work itself. But this larger view at least clarified the nature of the work, which is not malevolent at all. What one found was what Judd has called, speaking of Houdon, whom he admires, "that unstressed quality, that absence of any dominant tone." In an interview with Amy Goldin (*Art News,* Sept. '67) he went on to comment interestingly on 19th-century American painting, including Bingham's *Fur Traders Descending the Missouri,* whose vast unmodulated surfaces he finds characteristic of American art. Perhaps they are, and perhaps Judd's enveloping, noncommital surfaces are really American too.

"A work needs only to be interesting," Judd has said. "Most works finally have one quality." In Judd's case it is hard to say what the quality of a particular creation is. Sometimes the work is metal cubes, painted or unpainted, usually with an unexpected detail – irregular spacing, a raised rim, some kind of elementary discrepancy. One of the most beautiful is one of the earliest – a wall of parallel boards painted red, with a concave border of galvanized iron at top and bottom. It would cause no surprise standing in the middle of a Japanese lake, where it would be experienced as a projection of the landscape having no connection with it. There are others which depart from variations on the cube motif, such as an oblong ring that sits on the ground, something like a portable swimming pool, and a low ramp of perforated steel only eight inches high at the tall end of its wedge shape.

Judd's "A work needs only to be interesting" sums it up. The verdict may not be appealed. My feeling is that Gene Davis' painting, in a big three-man show at the Jewish Museum, doesn't succeed. Davis is associated with the Washington color school of Morris Louis and Kenneth Noland. If eight stripes are good in a Morris Louis, surely eighty will therefore be ten times as good? Yet the distance from Louis, not to mention Noland and Ellsworth Kelly (whom Davis suggests in *Wall Stripes,* a group of several discrete monochrome panels) is immediately apparent and unbreachable. The intended conjugation of color does not take place. Noland's striped canvases are events; Davis' are stripes.

Richard Smith, the English painter who won first prize at the last Sao Paolo Biennale, has proceeded from stained shaped canvases with a certain amount of functional clutter to large, irregularly-shaped (or as irregular as you can get with canvas and stretchers) ones in series. There is a *Gazebo* and you are meant to walk inside it. (The 40's had the orgone box; we have environmental art.) They are rather casually put together, and apparently it's OK if they get a little soiled and scruffy. The most successful is a long series of twelve modules painted different colors, each with a kind of truncated corner which lengthens as the series progresses. Perhaps it is meant to suggest a span of days or months with the light or the darkness getting longer. It is in a grand manner which seems more congenial to Smith than the medium-sized manner of the other works.

The most interesting of the three is Robert Irwin, a Californian who paints mysterious pale disks that look like soap bubbles or rather pictures of them on the lid of a soap-bubble set. They are fixed to the end of a rod that projects outward from the wall; spotlights on the floor throw a quadruple shadow of the disk on the wall behind. At first glance the shadows annoyed me; then I grew fond of the way they propel the disk forward, giving it the air of some imperious insect balanced on long legs. What is beautiful is the way Irwin distinguishes between all-but-undistinguishable neutral tones (an earlier oil painting comprised of tiny dots is also remarkable in this way). "Every moment," wrote Pater, "some tone on the hills or the sea is choicer than the rest." Irwin seems to have arrived independently at this conclusion after staring straight into a cloud.

John Ashbery

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A COMMUNICATION

Rights and Wrongs of the War

The article by Takashi Oka, *What the South Vietnamese Want*, (March 23) is good history but inferior argument. He acknowledges the logic of the Vietnam critics' case, that the Geneva Agreements nowhere refer to the 17th parallel as a permanent frontier and, on the contrary, specify that it was not to serve as a national boundary but only to mark a temporary division until national elections were held no later than 1956; but he answers the critics by asserting that despite the wording of the Agreement, it is probable that the North never really expected the elections promise to be kept. He implies that the "temporary division" is thus really a *de facto* permanent boundary, because both sides secretly expected that the South, at least, would so treat it. I will put his statements in italics.

> *"The signatories, including Hanoi, must have been aware of the examples of East and West Germany and of North and South Korea, which were also partitioned 'temporarily'."*

The agreements covering the Germanies and Koreas did not set specific, short-term schedules for ending their divisions, nor did they provide for international supervision to insure that the schedules would be met. The Geneva Agreements provide that consultations for elections were to begin no later than one year after the division went into effect and that national elections were to be held within two years. An "International Commission for Supervision and Control" was established, and in fact functioned for many years, specifically to supervise these and other provisions of the Agreements.

> *"Did Hanoi truly expect . . . to take over South Vietnam peacefully after a two-year delay? If it was so sure of victory in any case, why did it sign the agreement at all?"*

Why does any combatant accept less than total victory at the bargaining table? Obviously, because it is not strong enough to have its way entirely. The French had been defeated in battle, but just as is the case with us today, they were nevertheless reluctant to let their retreat look like a rout. The two years' delay gave them time to leave with dignity and a modicum of honor. And the pressures on Ho Chi Minh to acquiesce in the delay were enormous. The United States was unofficially but openly threatening to continue the war with the British, or even alone, if the French collapsed too badly, and Secretary Dulles left Geneva while the treaty negotiations were still in session, to dramatize his displeasure at the French giving up even as much as they did.

> *"And if the other signatories believed that the country would be reunited in two years, why did they provide not only for regrouping of . . . troops to . . . the North and . . . South, but for substantial movement of the civilian population in both directions? Why should up to 800,000 Catholic and Buddhist non-Communists come South, and 100,000 Communist cadres and sympathizers go North, if the 17th parallel was truly expected to be temporary?"*

The Geneva Agreements ended a decade of brutal, bitter fighting. The war had been not only a national struggle for liberation but a religious and ideological contest as well. Is it so surprising that some followers of each side should not want to spend even two years living under the domination of the other? The purpose of the 17th parallel was to mark a provisional separation of the warring groups, a purpose which was furthered by the separation of the actual arms-bearing troops *and* their more militant sympathizers. In fact, almost all the "100,000 Communist cadres and sympathizers" (really 150,000, I think) who went North *were* troops, not civilians, and the few civilians who went were mostly the troops' families. (Kahin & Lewis, *The United States in Vietnam*, Delta Books, 1967, pages 75 and 83.) 150,000 is less than one and a half percent of the South's population at the time. The North asked its adherents to stay South and work for victory in the promised elections, and most of them did both stay and work. That so many non-Communists were urged by the Southern government to come South, and that so many did, reflects only on the South's intentions, not the North's.

Finally, Oka's argument is deficient in that it rests on a false assumption altogether. What if it could be proved that the Communists suspected that we and the Geneva signatories would break the promise to hold elections? Why would that *excuse* its breaking? Does the suspicion of, say, a lender that his debtor may not repay him, excuse the debtor's obligation?

A fairer reading of Mr. Oka's own historical summary makes clear that, whatever the many derelictions of both sides, it is our side which has the less justifiable goals. We have claimed to be defending a peaceful nation against the "aggression" of its neighbor, but it was the Government of the South (under Diem) which first asserted its right to rule permanently millions of persons in the South whose sympathies were with the national liberation leaders in the North, and whose ultimate governance was to be decided only by free elections. We have claimed to be protecting the "right of self-determination," but it was the South, with our backing, which refused to go through with elections to permit the Vietnamese to determine their own government. We have claimed to be fighting to honor our "solemn commitments," but the breaking of the commitment to hold elections, which started the whole bloody war again, was dishonored with our urging and support. And we have

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claimed to be fighting to "defend democracy," but anyone then Premier Ky cared to label a "communist or neutralist" was barred from participating in the "model" elections in the South we staged about a year ago.

Mr. Oka has written a sympathetic account of the plight of those in the South who are neither Communist nor supporters of Thieu and Ky. But the suffering we are inflicting on the helpless people of Vietnam, both North and South, demands more than sympathy. If we cannot now gather the courage to re-assess our stated goals and admit that we are killing wrongly and in vain, the prospects for our nation, too, are bleak.

W. DAVID SLAWSON
Los Angeles, Calif.

Kauffmann, *from page 30*

begins here with Alma facing us and talking to us – for at least three minutes. It certifies his oft-stated belief in the human face as the theatre of life; and the very fact of his self-confidence, that he doesn't feel obliged to hop about to keep the shot from being static, *keeps* it from being static, makes it quietly daring. Later there is a scene in which Johan times one minute of silence by his watch. Bergman makes a drama of the sixty seconds by conveying Johan's triumph in getting through at least one more minute of his life sentence. There are some pure virtuoso touches, like one in which Johan is seated on a stony beach, painting. On top of a rise a girl appears, with only her legs visible. Her head is kept outside the frame even as she approaches. We assume it is Alma. Suddenly, when she is next to him, she kneels and we see that it is another girl. (Veronica, as we learn.) It is more than a surprise, it is a revelation. Because Veronica never really comes to the island, the surprise tells us retroactively that we have been watching an illusion.

Further, there are extraordinary performances in the two leading roles. Max von Sydow, the Johan, is one of the world's best screen actors. One proof: he is not only good in good or mediocre pictures, he is good in bad ones; witness *The Greatest Story Ever Told* and *Hawaii*. His power to concentrate every atom of understanding and imagination and presence on every instant is what keeps Johan from becoming dreary, although von Sydow cannot by himself make the character relevant to us. Liv Ullmann, who was the virtually mute actress in *Persona*, will win any viewer but will doubly impress those who saw the previous picture. With no flash trickery of makeup or accent, with no equipment but empathy and a talent for truth, she creates here an utterly different character. The aloof, enigmatic, elegant actress of *Persona* is transformed into the fresh, vulnerable but wise girl. This is creative acting, as distinct from vaudeville impersonation.

But, unfortunately, there is a good deal to dislike. The scenes in the castle, including the long final fantasy, alienate us, when they should involve us. All the anticipated or unfruitful symbols, the closeups of faces that seem labeled D for Decadent, the unsubtle chiaroscuro, are a disappointing rehash of old German expressionism, something like Mai Zetterling's *Night Games* and *Loving Couples*. These castle scenes, as well as other failed introspective scenes, make us conscious of cinematic strain, rather than taking us on a painfully intense journey through a mental hell.

The hour of the wolf, says Bergman, is the hour between night and dawn "when most people die . . . when nightmares are most palpable." It is the hour when Johan cracks irretrievably. (Another sign of Bergman's strain: he inserts the title again just before this last sequence to make sure we get the point.) The shadow world of mental-spiritual torment is Bergman's own, marked out by him more and more devotedly as he goes on; and the wolf-hour is high noon in that world, therefore of inevitable interest to him. But his specific material here is much less resonant than in his past "chamber" films, much more clinical, and I think that the evident struggle of his film to *be* a film reflects – subconsciously, perhaps – his sense of this aridity.

Well, in the long run, what of it? Bergman's films have fallen short, to some degree, at least as often as they have succeeded, principally because he ventures more deeply into the shadows than most directors. *Hour of the Wolf*, his twenty-eighth film, is not one of his successes. That is all. Bergman lives and works – happily, is "compelled" to work. I look forward to his next.

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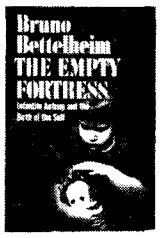

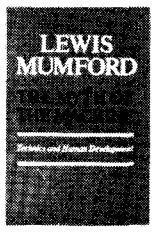

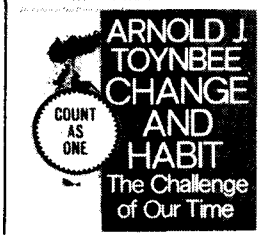

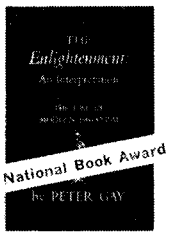

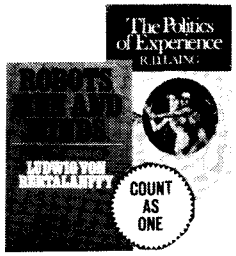

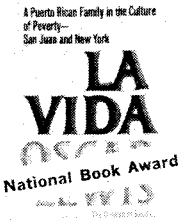

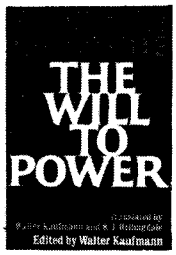

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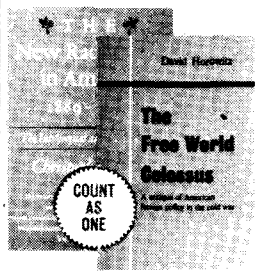

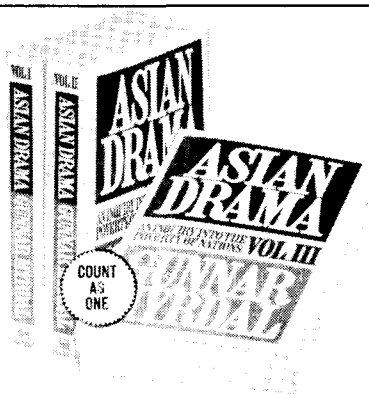

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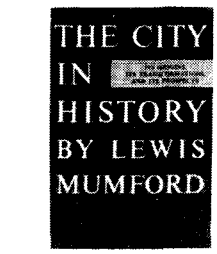

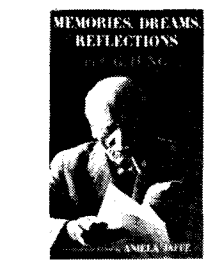

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